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# COMMUNIST THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN

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## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

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# COMMUNIST THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN

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MONDAY, MAY 2, 1960

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 1:50 p.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, Senator Kenneth B. Keating presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and Frank W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator KEATING. The subcommittee will come to order.

I want to explain, for the benefit of the witnesses that have been brought here from other areas, the situation under which we are laboring today in the Senate.

We are considering the mutual security bill, and under the procedure we are following, every amendment is subject to 10 minutes of debate, 5 minutes in favor of it and 5 against it. As a consequence of that, every few minutes all afternoon there will be a rollcall vote.

It is anticipated that our debate on the bill will be completed by this evening. I have conferred with other members of the committee and with counsel, and we feel that the only feasible way to handle this is to adjourn this hearing until tomorrow morning at 10:30, when I hope we can proceed with the witnesses.

Therefore, I direct that any witnesses who have been subpoenaed appear tomorrow at 10:30 a. m. Of course the witnesses who were ordered to appear today will have their expenses taken care of, since the postponement is obviously no fault of theirs.

The committee will now stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon, at 1:55 p.m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at 10:30 a.m., Tuesday, May 3, 1960.)



# COMMUNIST THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN

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TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1960

U.S. SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE  
To INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:45 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, Senator Thomas J. Dodd presiding.

Present: Senators Dodd, Kenneth B. Keating, and Norris Cotton.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and Frank W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator DODD. The committee will come to order. This hearing this morning is a continuation of a series of hearings which this subcommittee has been conducting concerning the internal security of the United States as affected by events which have occurred and are occurring in the Caribbean area.

Counsel, are you prepared to call your first witness?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Might I respectfully suggest at the outset that some of the witnesses today, at least, will be Spanish-speaking and we will question them through an interpreter. The Chair might wish to swear our interpreter at the outset of the hearing.

Miss Gomez?

Senator DODD. Will you rise? Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to truthfully translate the testimony to be given here today before this committee?

Miss GOMEZ. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. The first witness is Father Eduardo Aguirre.

Senator DODD. Come forward and take your place, please. Father, do you want to be sworn? Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Father AGUIRRE. I do.

Senator DODD. Take your seat.

## TESTIMONY OF REV. FATHER EDUARDO AGUIRRE

Senator DODD. Your name and address, please.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your full name is Eduardo Aguirre?

Father AGUIRRE. Eduardo Aguirre.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you are a priest of the Roman Catholic Church?

Father AGUIRRE. Did you say if I am what?

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a priest?

Father AGUIRRE. I am a priest, a Catholic priest.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. You were born in Camaguey Province?

Father AGUIRRE. In Camaguey Province, Cuba.

Senator DODD. Do you have any trouble understanding English?

Would you prefer an interpreter?

Father AGUIRRE. No. I think I can understand.

Senator DODD. If you have any trouble, tell us. That is what we have an interpreter for.

Mr. SOURWINE. You attended the University of Camilas?

Father AGUIRRE. The University of Camilas, in Spain. Santander, in Spain.

Senator DODD. Try to keep your voice up, Father, if you can.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were ordained in Spain?

Father AGUIRRE. I was ordained in Spain, July 24, 1950.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what is your present assignment?

Father AGUIRRE. I am assistant pastor at St. Patrick's Church, Miami Beach, Fla.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you been connected with churches in other cities in the United States?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes. I was also assistant pastor in West Palm Beach, St. Juliana Church in West Palm Beach, Fla., and Amarillo, Tex.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you thereafter return to a church in Cuba?

Father AGUIRRE. I was assigned pastor at Batabanó, of Havana Province, Cuba, when I returned to Cuba in January 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, tell us what you found when you returned to Cuba. Was there a change in the atmosphere in Cuba?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, it was a change. It was the time for the triumph of the revolution and everybody was expecting the best for Cuba, for the Cuban people, from the revolution, and I think that most of the Cuban people were supporting and helping the revolution to have a good change, a political stability, to have freedom, to finish the troubles, some kind of civil war we have over there, and to improve the progress and the economic situation of our country. I think that by January the great majority, the large majority of the Cuban people were happy with the revolution and were expecting the best for Cuba by January when I returned to Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you in Cuba during the Batista regime?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, yes, some few years. I came to this country in 1955. Now, not like a refugee, but anyway, I was speaking and doing my best against the Batista regime.

Mr. SOURWINE. You opposed the Batista regime?

Father AGUIRRE. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. And was that responsible for your departure from Cuba?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes, it was partly responsible for my departure. I didn't depart officially like a refugee but I have trouble in my town, in my parish, with some military men over there, with the lieutenant in charge of the garrison, and then I decided and with the advice of my own bishop to leave the country, and to come to the United States.

Senator Dodd. Just when did you leave? I would like to make that clear on the record. When was it you left Cuba?

Father AGUIRRE. That was in August 1955.

Senator Dodd. You said it was with the advice of your bishop?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes, with the advice of my bishop.

Senator Dodd. Had there been complaints about you by the Batista government?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, military men of the Batista government, there was a complaint.

Senator Dodd. Had you been criticizing the Batista administration?

Father AGUIRRE. I was in some ways.

Senator DODD. And this is why you left Cuba, is it?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes. That is the reason I left Cuba.

Senator Dodd. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, after you returned to Cuba in January of 1959, did you thereafter engage in activities against the Communists in Cuba?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes, I did. When I—

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us when that began and how it came about?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I was assigned pastor at Batabanó on February 10. As soon as I arrived to my parish—Batabanó is a fishing town in the west coast of Cuba opposed to Havana City, and as soon as I arrived to my town, I realized that the Communists had a big power, almost a control over the town. I don't think that they did much—they did very little for the triumph of the revolution, but they were ready after the fall of Batista to take over, especially the union, workers' union in my town.

In my parish there is a maritime union with 1,200 men, and the Communists in this union, there are no more than 60 or 70 among 1,200 people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying that 60 or 70 men took over a union of 1,200?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right. That is what happened in my town. And then they didn't celebrate any election, you know, to appoint the officials, the bosses of the union, and then they were trying, you know—Batabanó is a small town.

I was helping everybody. When they had some trouble, when they wanted to go to Havana to get something from the Government, you know, for the improvement of the town, they used to call me. I went there, I talked for them, and I had influence, of course, like a priest, like a pastor, and they considered myself also like a revolutionary.

I don't think the priest could be called exactly a revolutionary, but anyway they thought this way and as soon as possible I realized the big influence of the Communists over there, and I started immediately to preach to big conferences, to write articles about the Communists, the tenure of the Communists, about the Communist doctrine and also with a group of friends belonging to the 26th of July Movement, I tried to form a new staff, a new directive for the union, you know, and I tried to get everything through to get the celebration of new elections in the union.

And I have a lot of trouble with these—fighting with the Communists.

First of all, I went to the Labor Minister, to Havana, to get completely informed about the situation of the maritime union in Batabanó, and I went also to the CTC. This is the national confederation of the workers, in Cuba, and I have the support of these two institutions, the Labor Ministry and the National Confederation of Labor, of the workers.

But anyway, they send three times inspectors to the union to fix up everything and to prepare the union to have a new election.

So I was sure, if we could have an election, the Communists would not be able to stay there any more because they were a small minority—60 or 70 among 1,200 workers. And we have several incidents with them. The inspector going to the union three times, they started fighting and making trouble and shooting.

The last time, the inspector of the Labor Ministry was taken to prison. He was fined \$400 and then he went back to Havana after 3 days in prison and he went to the television, to the radio, and he explained the very strange situation in Batabanó. After a few days he came back to Batabanó to see me and told me, "Father, I won't be able to do anything else because the day after I talked by television, I was called by Raul Castro and he told me that he didn't want to hear any word, anything else about the Communists in Batabanó because in Cuba it is not possible to attack the communism."

That is what Raul Castro, Fidel's brother, told this gentleman. He said, "I don't want you to say anything about this because here you are not able—nobody is able—to attack, to oppose the Communist doctrine, and after that this man kept the same position, the boss of the union who was the boss of the Communist Party in Batabanó.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was that?

Father AGUIRRE. His name is Manuel Rua Romano. He was trying to get elected mayor in Batabanó on two different occasions, and he was always the boss of the Communist Party in Batabanó. As everybody knows, he was an open Communist, you know. And after that, this man was assigned a general inspector of the maritime union in Cuba. That is the price he got.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean he got a government job?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right. More than he had in Batabanó. He was appointed general inspector of the labor, of the maritime unions in Cuba, in all the islands, in the 43 maritime unions in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who replaced him as head of the union in Batabanó?

Father AGUIRRE. He stood over there also. I think he was working the two jobs at the same time. And they have control. I couldn't say anything else against the Communists. They used to accuse me for being anti-Communist and they used to accuse me for being also pro-American, because I know this country, the life, and the wonderful things you have here, and I used to talk with my friends about the United States, the organization, the freedom, the wonderful things I knew myself in this country. And I was for this reason, especially for these two reasons, for being anti-Communist, you know, speaking openly against the Communists and speaking in favor of many wonderful things you have here—I was accused of being counterrevolutionary.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who accused you?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, the people belonging to the 26th of July Movement in Batabanó—they were accusing me. They didn't greet me any more. They used to be my friends. They used to go once in a while to the church. They used to call me for everything important. They had to consult me, to go with them to Havana to get something from the government—and after that they didn't greet me any more and they accused me of that.

They were spying on me even during the day, and also during the night.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the meaning of the word "ostracism"?

Father AGUIRRE. The meaning of—

Mr. SOURWINE. Ostracism.

Father AGUIRRE. Yes, I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean to tell us it is cause for ostracism in Cuba if you are pro-American?

Father AGUIRRE. Oh, yes. I am sure. I was—I had to go through this ostracism myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Senator KEATING. May I inquire at this point, Mr. Chairman?

You spoke of their spying on you. What form did that spying take?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, they were spying on me from 12 in the night, midnight, until the morning. They used to say in the town that I was having conspiracy meetings. That was not the truth. I never had in the night nor even in the day any conspiracy meetings with nobody.

They were accusing me that I used to salute, to say "hello" to everybody in town; and they didn't want me or anybody else to say "hello" to a person who used to have some contact, some relation with the Batista regime; and that is against my priesthood condition. I was a pastor.

I have the right and the obligation to attend everybody, to talk to everybody, even to visit some of the families when they call me to pay attention to a sick person or for something else because I was the pastor for everybody, and they wanted me to keep away from all—any other people who used to have some relation or contact with the Batista regime.

Senator KEATING. In other words, they asked you as a priest of the church to stop any contact with anyone who did not have their political principles?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right. That is what they were trying to do and I didn't go through this way because I was first a priest and a pastor for all my parishioners. I could have any private sympathy with the revolution, as I have, but I was a pastor for everybody and I had the obligation to pay attention to everybody in my own parish.

Senator COTTON. May I ask one question, Mr. Chairman?

Before you left Cuba the first time, because of the military members of the Batista regime, were you in this same community, in this same church?

Father AGUIRRE. No, sir. I was in Camaguey Province in another town, in some other parish, and when I came back to Cuba in 1959, I went to the Havana Province and I was—

Senator COTTON. I see.

Father AGUIRRE. I was appointed to Batabanó. It is a town of Havana Province.

Senator COTTON. Now, when you said a moment ago that those who had been your friends before ceased to speak with you, to you—

Father AGUIRRE. Yes.

Senator COTTON. You didn't mean that they had been your friends back in the days when you were opposing Batista. You mean—

Father AGUIRRE. No.

Senator COTTON. They were your friends when you first came to this new parish?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right. They were my friends when I first came to this new parish because they knew that I was a very good sympathizer of the revolution and I was helping the revolution from here, from the United States, with the Cubans, you know, advising them and doing the best I could for the Cuban exiles.

Senator COTTON. I don't question that statement. But how did they know it in this new parish that you came to? How did they know of your previous opposition to the Batista regime?

Father AGUIRRE: Well, because through many people going there to see me, you know, some of the top revolutionary men knew me from here and they used to go there and, you know, they were talking with other people.

Also there were some publications in the papers about me, you know. There were several ways to know that.

Senator COTTON. Thank you.

Senator DODD. The fact was quite well known that you were a supporter of Castro?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right. It was quite well known that I was a supporter of the revolution—not only of Castro, because Castro is not the revolution. I think that the revolution was—the big majority of the Cuban people want to change the condition under the Batista regime.

Senator DODD. He was the leader of it, wasn't he? Castro was the leader?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes, that is right. Castro was the leader and I think still a leader over there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did you leave Cuba to come back to the United States this last time?

Father AGUIRRE. Why did I leave?

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did you leave? Yes.

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I was complaining about all these conditions and I was afraid—they were threatening me. I was afraid they could get me involved in any conspiracy because they were taking several prisoners in my town.

One time they took about 40 men. Many of them were my friends. They used to talk to me and go to church and some of them didn't belong to any Catholic association I had over there and I was very afraid because the ostracism you were talking about—they were improving this ostracism.

For example, I had my car over there, my automobile, and I didn't have a garage. I had to let it outside the church and I used to go to Havana once a week and most of the time when I go into Havana, when I come back, there is a garrison in the entrance of town and they

were searching my car. They knew I was the priest, I was the pastor, and they were searching my car, looking, I think, for weapons or for antigovernment propaganda, something like that. I used to tell them, "What for are you searching my car? I don't have—I never used a weapon in my life and I don't have to have any weapons."

But anyway, I was afraid some day they were going to put some weapons in the back of my car when I go to Havana in the morning so they could search my car and find some weapons. I couldn't give any reason for that.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to get this clear for the record. Are you saying you were merely afraid of being threatened or are you saying you were afraid because you had been threatened? Were you in fact threatened by anybody?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes; I was in fact threatened by several people. And I was—as I tell you, they would search my car. That was a disrespect for me, you know. And they didn't trust me any more because when I was entering the town, or going away, they stopped me and they were searching my car.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember telling us in executive session that there was a Communist campaign against you, personally?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes. There was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Explain that, would you, please?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, that was when we were preparing the election in the labor union. The Communists, with all these ways they have, you know, to get the thing they want—they didn't celebrate the election. They did celebrate the election but by themselves, like they do in the Communist countries. They didn't have any opposite party, you know, for the election, the labor union, and they celebrate the election I remember the 24th of May 1959; and after the election they got a mob in front of my church in the park of Batabanó and they were crying that they were going to burn the church and they were crying, about 150 of them, that they are going to hang the priests.

They said "We have to go in and we have to bring you here to the park to hang them here in the public park." I was still afraid myself. I said, well, if they do it, everybody in the world is going to know the real situation of the Communists in Cuba. The Communists, they have to threaten anybody, even a priest, and I opened the door of my church—it was about 7:30 in the night.

The sacristan, the man who is in charge of doing the things in the church, he came and said, "Father, will we ring the bells for the rosary?" We used to have the rosary every night. I said, "Yes, go ahead, open the door and light the candles, have the light on, and ring the bells," and then the policeman—they put two men with rifles in the front of my church, in the front of the main door.

That means—I didn't ask for that but that means that they were afraid, the authority, that the Communists meant it when they said they are going to the church and they are going to burn it and are going to do some damage to me—that they were afraid that they wanted to do it. And then, after a while, I was inside and they were crying, shouting, "Let's hang the priest and let's burn the church," and there was a very real tension in town.

I have many friends with me around who would say, "Father, we are ready to fight and to die if they dare to come into the church." But after a while they went away and I went out and nothing happened.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it shortly after this that you decided to come to the United States?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I was decided shortly after that. I was decided to come to the United States, but anyway I was fighting that the situation could change, you know, because the big majority of the Cuban people is Catholic—Christian. They like the freedom, democracy, the respect for everybody, the law and the order. I think that everything will be straightened out after a while.

We cannot go ahead with this situation, with the control of the Communists everywhere, with the power they have, and I was expecting until—I was supposed to come before November but we have a wonderful congress, a great Catholic congress in Havana by the end of November, and I wanted to stay there to see how the people would manifest their faith because this congress was the public in a real manifestation of about a million people, 1 million people, against the Communists; and that was the cry of the people in the congress.

"Democracy, yes; Communists, no." That was the public cry over there. And then I came after the congress, immediately.

Mr. SOURWINE. Father, did you come with the approval of your bishop this time as you did the first time?

Father AGUIRRE. I did come with the approval of my own bishop in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember the information you gave us about the organization of juvenile patrols, boys of teen age?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about that.

Father AGUIRRE. I remember.

Well, this organization is trying to introduce in the minds of the young people—even the children 13, 10, 14 years old—the absolute obligation to obey the party. I mean the leader, because when they say "the party," they say "the leader, Fidel Castro."

And they try to influence their minds so that they will be devoted completely to everything coming from the leader. And even though they used to indoctrinate those children and young, very young people, that they have to obey the government, the movement, rather than obey their own parents, their own church or anybody else. And I am sure that this is a Communist and totalitarian doctrine, you know, that they are trying to indoctrinate the young people with these ideas, to obey without any doubt any suggestion of the leader.

"Maximo Lider," as they called him.

Also they are indoctrinated to spy in their family, their parish, everybody around them.

Mr. SOURWINE. To spy on their own family?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes, and I know a case—I don't have the name. The priest that came visiting from Cuba about 2 months ago, he gave me the case, with the number, with the name, of one child who was about 13 or 14 years old in Oriente Province and he accused his grandfather of talking against the government, and then this grandfather was sent to the prison. That was the effect of the indoctrination that

this grandchild accused his grandfather of hearing some talk against the revolution or against the Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the Castro government ever attack the church?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I think he did. As far as his going—as far as he went away with these ideas—

Mr. SOURWINE. Pardon me, Father. Don't you remember telling us in executive session that Castro never attacked the church?

Father AGUIRRE. Never attacked—

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I said he never attacked openly. I mean he didn't say never: "Well, we don't want to have the church any more. We don't want to have any more priests." He didn't do it openly because he is smart to do that and he knows that most of the people, the great majority have a good Christian sentiment, especially Catholic because most of the people in Cuba are Catholic, and he never attacked openly.

But he had been attacking the church several other ways, not strictly openly. He has been attacking his priests, anyway, after these declarations I told you, he has been attacking priests and even bishops in the official newspaper. If there are any priests or any bishops who would dare to say anything against the Government, it would be considered like a criminal of war, like a man sold to the American interest, like a Trujillista, like a nonpriest anymore. They would call any priest, any bishop who would dare to say something publicly in Cuba against the Government.

And about 2 weeks ago, one priest, Father Vasco Guevara, he used to write for the paper—some few articles about the socialization of Cuba. He never attacked—I read all his articles. He never attacked openly the Government but he was criticizing something, you know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you, Father.

Do you have any information respecting the intentions of the Communist Party in Cuba as regards the United States?

Father AGUIRRE. Any intention about—

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any information about what the Communist Party in Cuba intends or how they regard the United States?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, they regard—I think the Communist Party, the policy, not only in Cuba but all Latin America, since 1956 is to discredit the United States, to go to make trouble between the United States and the Latin American countries, to raise the anti-American sentiments, and that is the campaign that you should know, I am sure, the "Hate America" campaign they are getting in Cuba. You know, everything wrong that happened in Cuba or happened in any other country in Latin America, they will blame systematically the United States. That is the campaign they have in Cuba.

The Government has that in Cuba. And that is the campaign of the Communists in all Latin American countries.

Mr. SOURWINE. Father Aguirre, do you have any information about the Prensa Latina, the Latin American press agency in Cuba?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes; I had information that this Prensa Latina is a Communist-controlled agency.

Mr. SOURWINE. From where do you get that information?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I got this information through one person inside the Prensa Latina, through another priest. You know that I

couldn't say his name, you know, because he is still in Cuba. He gave me the names of the top officers, of the men running the Prensa Latina and their relation to the Communist Party, all their background you know, and this Prensa Latina is a Communist agency in complete contact with Prague in Czechoslovakia.

They kept a relationship in cables and in code with Prague, receiving information and everything they want to say, you know. And the general policy of the Prensa Latina is to present all the news, even the more insignificant ones, against the United States, and to present all the troubles that there are in this country, like anywhere else. You know, if there are racial troubles, discrimination, they want to make a great propaganda about that, to discredit this country, in all the news, even the more insignificant. That is the purpose of the Prensa Latina.

Mr. SOURWINE. What were the names given you as the top Communists in Prensa Latina?

Father AGUIRRE. What?

Mr. SOURWINE. You said that certain names were given to you as the top Communists in Prensa Latina, if I understood you correctly. What were those names?

Father AGUIRRE. You want me to say the name?

Mr. SOURWINE. No. I understood you could not give the name of your informer.

Father AGUIRRE. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You couldn't tell who told you?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. But I understood you to say he had given you the names of persons who were top Communists in Prensa Latina.

Father AGUIRRE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you give us those names?

Father AGUIRRE. I think I have it here. Let me see. I don't think I have it. I gave it already.

Senator DODD. You gave us the names of people who are not Cubans who are in this Prensa Latina. The informer gave you that.

Father AGUIRRE. He didn't give the name.

Senator DODD. Was the name Mazetti?

Father AGUIRRE. Well—

Senator DODD. Do you know that?

Father AGUIRRE. He is the executive chief of the Prensa Latina.

Senator DODD. Well, who is he? Who were you told he is?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, he is an Argentinian, Communist, Peronist. He is the chief, I mean, the executive chief of the Prensa Latina, this Mazetti.

Senator DODD. You said you were told he was an Argentine Communist?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right. Peronist.

Senator DODD. And he is now an official of the Latin Press Agency?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right.

Senator KEATING. Mr. Chairman, in other words, he was a supporter of Peron?

Father AGUIRRE. Of Peron.

Senator KEATING. When Peron left he became an active Communist?

Father AGUIRRE. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the name Modica?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes. He is one of the men also, the top men in the Prensa Latina.

Senator DODD. Tell us, who is he? What were you told about Modica?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I don't—I have a few of the more important details, you know, that he was born—he was a Communist, but I don't have the complete information about him, you know. I couldn't tell you too many details. I think I give you already the details I had.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know a man named Padilla?

Father AGUIRRE. Padilla? Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is also with the Prensa Latina?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes, he is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he also identified to you as a Communist?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Panamanian Communist?

Father AGUIRRE. A Panamanian Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know the names Pastor Valdés, Jose Pardo, Gabriel Molina, and Antonio Fernandes?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were they connected with Prensa Latina?

Father AGUIRRE. They are.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were they identified to you as Cuban Communists?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes, they are.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where the meeting place of the Communist Party is, in Havana?

Father AGUIRRE. They have, I think, the meeting in the building of the Prensa Latina. The center of contact among all Communists in Cuba. You know that there are many Communists, officers and engineers and politicians, from China, Russia, Yugoslavia, in Cuba; Czechoslovakia. They used to have the meeting at the Prensa Latina Building in Havana.

Senator DODD. Father, let me ask you a couple of questions. Let me ask you first a general question.

Is it a fair summary of your testimony now, as I state it, that you were a Catholic priest in Cuba; you were opposed to Batista, and this was well known under the Batista government? Is that right?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right.

Senator DODD. So you had to leave Cuba and you came to the United States?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right.

Senator DODD. You supported the Castro revolution from the United States as well as you could?

Father AGUIRRE. I did.

Senator DODD. Before the takeover by Castro.

Father AGUIRRE. Yes, I did.

Senator DODD. Thereafter you returned to Cuba in January of 1959?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes.

Senator DODD. You found that Communists were very active in Cuba?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right.

Senator DODD. They gave you a hard time, made it difficult for you to carry on your priestly activities?

Father AGUIRRE. You are right.

Senator DODD. You observed their activities in labor unions?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right.

Senator DODD. The Prensa Latina Agency, and where they indoctrinated the youngsters who had been spying on their parents and on other people—

Father AGUIRRE. That is right.

Senator DODD. All right. And you have told us that you believe and have been informed that certain people in this press agency are Communists?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes, I do.

Senator DODD. Now, let me ask you a question. Do you know of your own knowledge of any activities in Cuba at the present time that are directed against the United States?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I know the public activities, you know, the propaganda that—you want to know if I know of some special activities, but I don't really know if there is something special they are trying to do to the United States. I don't really know.

Senator DODD. Do you know of any Cuban Communist agents who are operating in the United States?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I do. I think all the agents of Fidel Castro in the United States are Communists.

Senator DODD. Well, do you know who they are?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes. Well, I think I know.

Senator DODD. Can you tell us?

Father AGUIRRE. The names?

Senator DODD. Yes.

Father AGUIRRE. I don't have the names in my mind now. I mean, I know some things in Miami, you know, in Florida, but not here. I know some of them in Cuba. I think that the agent for Manuel Marquez—he is in charge of tourism in Cuba, and the chief of G-2 in Miami. He is in charge of all the agents, Communist agents, Fidelista agents in Miami. He is the boss of things, Manuel Marquez.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where he lives in Havana?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I don't remember. It is known in Miami, you know. He has a tourist commission, Cuban Tourist Commission in Miami.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know his residence in Miami?

Father AGUIRRE. I don't remember the address. I think I would know if I were there, but I don't remember exactly the address.

Senator DODD. How would one go about locating him?

Father AGUIRRE. About locating him?

Senator DODD. About finding him.

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I think it is very easy through the Immigration in Miami, easy to locate him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you seen this man?

Father AGUIRRE. I have seen him; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you describe him?

Father AGUIRRE. Oh, yes. He is very well known in Miami.

Mr. SOURWINE. Describe him. Is he a tall man, dark?

Father AGUIRRE. He is a dark man, tall, like me, more or less, a dark man, about 40 years old, something like that, 37, 38.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he clean shaven?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does he have a moustache?

Father AGUIRRE. No; he doesn't have any moustache.

Senator Dodd. Did you observe any activity on the part of Chinese Communists in Cuba?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes. There is a—they have a lot of activity. I think they are imitating more—the Communist government in Cuba—the Chinese than the Russian. They are always praising the Chinese popular government, they call it; and they have a radio now, a station, an hour in Chinese language for the Chinese colony in Cuba; and they have a paper also, the Regla, in some town near Havana.

Senator Dodd. They have a newspaper?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes, sir; a newspaper for the Communist Chinese. I have heard—I couldn't tell you the name, but several people, you know, who have been in contact with the Government, they used to find many foreigners there that are not American, because in Cuba if you don't talk English—but everybody understands when somebody is talking in English. They hear these same talking some other language, but not English. That is Russian, Chinese—you can recognize the Chinese through their face, you know, and Yugoslavian and Czechoslovakian, and especially Chinese Communists. There are many Chinese Communists in Cuba from China, even publicly.

They are always saying in the paper that they are receiving a mission of Chinese students, of the Chinese workers. They are always. And with this commission comes 20, 30 people. Who knows who they really are? They say that they are representatives of the students or the workers in China, but we don't know exactly who they are.

They know, of course.

Senator KEATING. Can you tell us anything further, Father, about the relation between the church and the Government? Have you given us all the information you have with reference to the Government's attitude toward the church?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I think I didn't give you all the information I have but I give some. Well, I think that the relation, as I told you—first of all, you know that I am not talking in the name of the church in Cuba. I am talking in my own name. I don't represent anybody or any church in Cuba. I represent my own opinion.

And I think the relations are getting worse every day because it is impossible to get along with the Communists, this indoctrination, with these totalitarian ideas that there are in the propaganda, in the radio, in the television, in the paper, everywhere, you know. They are trying to make God a poor man, like Fidel. I think he is a poor man. The propaganda are trying to make him a god and that is against any religious sentiments, not only against the Catholic sentiments. And it is against God's idea to make a man God, and that is what—I think the relations are getting worse every day.

There has been taken some property of the church.

Senator KEATING. They have taken properties of the church?

Father AGUIRRE. They took already some properties of the church, farms, a few farms, censers, ecclesiastical censers, that is the kind of

property the church has over there. And they were making a big propaganda to take over the Havana cemetery. The Havana cemetery belongs to the diocese of Havana, to the church. The money they are receiving for this property is to support the Seminary of Havana and some other orphanage. And there has been making a lot of propaganda through the radio to take over the cemetery. I think they will take it pretty soon.

And, as far as I know, there are many—most of the priests, the great majority, they are very, very disappointed with this situation in Cuba. They are afraid to talk in public because if they talk in public against—I wouldn't say against the Government. Nobody would dare to say that over there.

But against communism, they won't be able to stay there. They will have to get away from Cuba.

Like happened to me, you know. Like happened to some other priests. If there is anybody talking publicly and frequently, with some frequency, against the Communists, against this indoctrination, the totalitarian Communist indoctrination to the young people, they won't be able to stay there any more and that is what they don't dare to talk in public but they talk in private, privately, with the other priests, with the parishioners, some other person.

Senator KEATING. Have you heard any officials of the Government express anti-American sentiments?

Father AGUIRRE. Oh, yes. The Maximo Lider, Fidel Castro, he is always expressing very anti-American sentiments. Always he is talking about the Americans and all the others, the official papers, the Revolucion, the official papers, and the other ministers, they are always blaming the United States for everything wrong in Cuba.

Senator KEATING. That is the official Government doctrine, not simply the Communists?

Father AGUIRRE. No, no. Official Government. Official Government doctrine, that is right.

Senator KEATING. You have spoken of the large number of Chinese agents there. Are there Russian agents in Cuba?

Father AGUIRRE. There are, too. Yes. But I think there are more Chinese than Russian.

Senator KEATING. And there are agents from other Communist countries?

Father AGUIRRE. Always. Especially from Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Senator DODD. Senator Cotton?

Senator COTTON. Father, did you observe exactly how 60 or 70 members of that maritime union took over the control of 1,200? How did they go about it?

Father AGUIRRE. I didn't observe it because I wasn't there when they took over, but I knew it because everybody knew it in the town.

Senator COTTON. How did they do it?

Father AGUIRRE. In the 1st and 2d of January, the people, the young people, the revolutionaries, were taking care of the public order in the town, you know, and they were taking over the garrison and the Communists were taking care of the unions. They didn't do anything else. And that is what they did in Batabanó.

The boss of the Communists at the 1st of January was in Havana. He wasn't in Batabanó and as soon as he knew the Batista regime was out, it fell down, then he went to Batabanó directly to the labor union building, you know. And they brought—they came in and they took power of the union.

Senator COTTON. When the Batista government was overthrown—  
Father AGUIRRE. Yes.

Senator COTTON. Did the revolutionary high command assign certain people in certain communities to take over certain functions? In other words, was it the revolutionary command that assigned certain people to take over the police functions and then turned the Communists loose on the unions, or did it just happen locally?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, more or less I think there were some assignments, but in general was a lot of confusion, and in this confusion the only people who knew what they wanted were the Communists. They went directly to the labor union.

Senator COTTON. That is very clear. Thank you.

Father AGUIRRE. They were very clear what they were after.

Senator COTTON. Now let me ask you this: Did you know of the existence of Communist cells or groups in Cuba while the Batista regime was still in power?

Father AGUIRRE. Yes. There were some Communist cells working in Cuba.

Senator COTTON. Were they fairly strong?

Father AGUIRRE. I don't think so. They were some by this time.

Senator COTTON. Were they Cubans, largely, or were they composed largely of non-Cubans, people from the outside?

Father AGUIRRE. At that time I think they were Cubans. They were only Cubans most of the time, I think.

Senator COTTON. Was it only since the coming of the Castro government that Argentine and Panamanian and Chinese and Russian Communists have come into Cuba?

Father AGUIRRE. That is right. That was after Castro took over, not before.

Senator COTTON. Are the outside Communists effective in their propaganda with Cubans? Do they exercise quite an influence with Cubans?

Father AGUIRRE. They do. They exercise—they are having key positions, none very openly, you know, but in all the ministries there are some outsiders, foreigners, Communists, in key positions.

Senator COTTON. And how have they obtained those key positions?

Father AGUIRRE. Well, I think because the Government is Communist, because Fidel Castro is Communist himself; that is a policy they have. They have everything prepared this way, you know, to indoctrinate the other one, to control the minds and opinions of the other people in those jobs, in those positions.

Senator COTTON. I am not familiar with either the Spanish or Latin American languages, but is there a distinction or marked difference between the language of a resident of Argentina and a Cuban, for instance.

Father AGUIRRE. No. There is no essential distinction. For example, like the distinction between the English the United States

speaks here and the English of England, you know. There are so many—

Senator COTTON. Or the English of the South.

Father AGUIRRE. That is right. The North and the South. There is the same language. We can understand, we speak the same language in Argentina.

Senator KEATING. Or New England.

Senator COTTON. So there is no handicap in other Latin Americans coming in and seeking to convince and to win the Cubans to Communism.

Father AGUIRRE. No.

Senator COTTON. No handicap of language.

Father AGUIRRE. There is no handicap. We have one of the top names in the Government, Guevara; he is an Argentine. He is one of the most powerful men in Cuba.

Senator COTTON. How about the case of Europeans, or Asians, Russians, and Chinese?

Father AGUIRRE. Some of them know Spanish very well. I think they were all ready. They have a good knowledge of the language and some don't know but they have interpreters.

Senator COTTON. But they have been given positions of power to aid them and those positions have been given them by the Castro government?

Father AGUIRRE. The Government, that is right. You are right.

Senator COTTON. You are quite sure of that?

Father AGUIRRE. I am quite sure of that.

Senator KEATING. Have you actually observed, of your own knowledge, instances of that?

Father AGUIRRE. No. I didn't see myself. Batabanó, no other town, I didn't see them myself. But many other people, very responsible people, even some priests have told me about this man. Also, I tell you, for example, when they were in part of the Government, taxes to the church—now the church has to pay taxes in Cuba. They don't pay here and most of the countries, for the territory, for the church, for the schools and so forth. And when they were paying, they say the Treasury Ministry, they send a man to discuss with the lawyer of the archbishop, the diocese of Havana, about this problem, and the man with the power to discuss that was a Spaniard, a Communist Spaniard, was no Cuban, was a Communist in the civil war in Spain, a Communist Spaniard. He was the man with all the power and with the bishop and the lawyer of the diocese who was asking him, it wasn't good, because the church in Cuba is poor more or less. He said, "Well, why shouldn't you pay taxes when you receive a stipend or an offering, for example, for a mass, like anybody else. If you receive \$2 for a stipend, you should pay taxes like anybody else." And he had all the power. This was a Spaniard Communist. He was not a Cuban. I know especially this man myself.

Senator COTTON. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. No more questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Father. We appreciate the fact you would come here and give us this testimony.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call Father Juan Ramon O'Farril. Is Father O'Farril here?

Mr. Schroeder, is the Father coming?

Mr. SCHROEDER. The marshal in Miami notified us the day before yesterday that he had received his subpena.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you check to see if he has reported in downstairs?

Mr. SCHROEDER. I will.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, while this check is being made, I have here something for the record, anti-American propaganda of the comic book type of publication. I mean, the format. There is nothing comic about this publication, which is being widely circulated in Cuba.

I offer this for the file, for the record by reference, and I have here a few excerpts from it.

Senator KEATING. Before we do that, could we have counsel state the source of it, the basis of his statement that it is widely circulated in Cuba?

Senator DODD. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. The fact that it is widely circulated in Cuba is documented in various American publications. It has been referred to by name in, for instance, *Life* magazine, *Time*, the *New York Times*, and others. This particular copy was purchased on a street of Havana and it is on street corners, hawked on the corners, according to the committee's information.

Senator KEATING. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. The publisher's note in the first of this volume reads<sup>1</sup> as follows:

Note of the editors: With this second pamphlet of "Notes for a True History of Cuba" the Foundation of the Popular Book has gathered two illustrated works of Jose Pardo Llada. One of them reveals, with a documentary precision, the episode of the explosion of the *Maine*, the "mysteries" of which come afloat as if after 60 years from the tragedy we had extracted from the bottom of the sea the remains of the famous battleship.

Another one—of present-day interest—tells in revolutionary prose of the unforgettable burial of the victims of "La Conubre" and then tells in a fiery statement all the Cuban reasons to determine the responsibilities of the United States in the repeated aggressions to the National Sovereignty. Both works—the same as the previous Pardo Llada work on Bartolome Masó and the First American Intervention—represent serious contributions to establish the historic truth of our relations with the United States.

And the excerpts show the nature of it, involving a charge that the United States blew up the *Maine* to start the Spanish-American War, that the United States blew up the ship in Havana Harbor.

Senator DODD. Very well, that will be received and marked in the record.

(The document referred to was received for the files of the committee. Additional excerpts<sup>1</sup> read as follows:)

*The explosion of February 15.*—While in Washington the representatives of the nascent American economic imperialism (McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Root, Long) were engaged in precipitating the intervention in the Cuban war, with the intention of annexing the island, the Spaniards, preoccupied with ironing out their differences with the already powerful Nation, were smoothing out, with all kinds of explanations, the diplomatic relations between the two countries, placed in jeopardy by the imprudence of Ambassador Depuy de Lome.

\* \* \* \* \*

This was the state of affairs on February 15, at 9:45 p.m., when almost the entire crew of the SS *Maine* was aboard, *with the exception of the ship's officers*, and a terrible explosion occurred which caused the death of 266 men.

<sup>1</sup> As translated by Elizabeth Harunian of the Library of Congress.

The victims included 264 plain sailors—Negroes in their majority—and only two low-ranking officers. Almost none of the officers were aboard at that time—9:45 p.m.—but were playing cards in distant residential homes in the Cerro, or attending a show at the “Teatro Albizu.”

Some eyewitnesses stated that, when the officers of the *Maine* heard the explosion, they automatically looked at one another and called out: “It is the boat!”

Those who were at the “Teatro Albizu” rushed out seconds after the explosion, headed for the Caballeria Pier and cutting through Calle O'Reilly, certain that it was a disaster that had struck the unit to which they belonged.

\* \* \* \* \*

As proved by these statements, the magnates of the American press and the Washington pro-Colonialism leaders had very little interest in Cuba or in its fight for Independence. They stated with brutal frankness that they needed the war “in order to sell more newspapers”, or to “make better business deals.”

\* \* \* \* \*

*Theodore Roosevelt, the great culprit.*—The agitation initiated by the American press was followed by meetings and public acts promoted by the imperialistic political groups, under the slogan: “Remember the *Maine*.”

\* \* \* \* \*

*The real culprits.*—If it was not the Spaniards—as falsely stated in the Committee report—or the Cubans—as villainously claimed by Atkins—the question remained: Who was responsible for the sinking of the *Maine*?

*Indubitably the warmongering interests, which had incited the United States to intervene in Cuba.*

Is it not significant that [only] hours after the explosion and at a distance of so many miles as between Havana and New York, the warmongering newspapers were publishing the same conclusions—an underwater mine—at which the Investigating Committee arrived a month later?

Is it not a piece of evidence that almost automatically, when the explosion of the *Maine* occurred, Under Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt placed the entire blame on the Spaniards and clamored for sending the entire fleet to Havana?

What was the reason for Theodore Roosevelt's insistent request, hours after the explosion, that McKinley not make any investigation of the disaster of the *Maine*?

What did the famous letter say that Capt. Sigsbee was writing, precisely to Roosevelt, at the very moment of the explosion?

To save whom did Capt. Sigsbee say shortly before he died that he never had stated his opinion *as to who* had destroyed the *Maine*?

\* \* \* \* \*

And once the evidence had been exhausted, with the skill that could have been displayed only by the best lawyer, aided by the best expert in explosives—and it so happens that Fidél is a lawyer and that, besides, he had to turn into an expert on explosives in the Sierra Maestra—the tall, bearded man, at whom that cold north was hammering away, alone on the platform, without losing his composure and serenity in making his statement, was asking himself who might have been the one, or the ones, having arranged that crime, and, through a series of irrefutable deductions, even submitting such conclusive proof as the action [reaction?] of the United States Consul at Amberg, to learning about the shipment of arms to Cuba, established, clearly and courageously, the indubitable responsibility of the United States for this monstrous crime.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has Father O'Farril reported in downstairs?

Mr. SCHIROEDER. No, sir; and the word has gone to Miami to see what happened.

Mr. SOURWINE. We are informed, Mr. Chairman, that Father O'Farril left Miami in response to his subpoena to come here. I don't know why he has not arrived.

Senator DODD. Have you notified the proper authorities?

Mr. SOURWINE. I think perhaps that had better be done.

Senator DODD. Wasn't he harmed once before?

Mr. SOURWINE. He was very badly beaten by Batista agents and he was fearful there would be another attack.

Senator DODD. Is he another one of the Catholic priests who returned under Castro and had to leave again?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Senator DODD. I think I would send out the word on that.

Senator KEATING. Do we know when he left?

Senator DODD. Do we know when he left, Mr. Schroeder?

Mr. SCHROEDER. No; we don't.

Senator DODD. You know he was served?

Mr. SCHROEDER. I know he was. The marshal notified him.

Senator DODD. And you expected him here this morning.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Yes, sir.

Senator DODD. We ought to find out if he did leave. My recollection was that he was one in particular that we wanted to hear.

Mr. SOURWINE. Father Rosario Maxilliano Perez.

I understand Father Perez speaks only Spanish. We will speak with him through an interpreter.

Senator DODD. We will swear Father Perez. Will you stand up and raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Father PEREZ. I do.

#### **TESTIMONY OF REV. FATHER ROSARIO MAXILLIANO PEREZ (THROUGH AN INTERPRETER)**

Senator DODD. Give us your name and your address?

Father PEREZ. Maxilliano Perez Diaz.

Senator DODD. Speak up, please.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were educated at San Carlos and San Ambrosio Seminaries?

Father PEREZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were ordained a Catholic priest in 1949?

Father PEREZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were at one time imprisoned by the Batista government?

Father PEREZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had fought the Batista government for a period of 7 years?

Father PEREZ. For 7 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us something of that fight against the Batista government? And I respectfully suggest that for the purposes of the record, the interpreter explain to the Father that if he will speak a sentence, she can then translate it and then he may speak another sentence and she will translate that.

Senator DODD. Before he begins to tell us about his fight against Batista, ask him this question:

Wasn't your father killed by Batista?

Father PEREZ. Yes; in 1940.

Senator DODD. When you are telling us about your struggle against Batista, tell us the facts about your father's execution.

The INTERPRETER. This was during the election, during the election time. This was during the Father's studies and the election of Ba-

tista ensued in 1940 when this took place. His father was a leader of a certain movement which was a movement against Batista.

Father Perez is explaining that his father—

Senator Dodd. You just tell us what he said. Never mind explaining. You interpret each word that he says in Spanish into that microphone. That is all we want you to do. What did he say?

The INTERPRETER. His father was a leader who was working against the Batista government. His father was opposed to the repression of that military unit.

Senator Dodd. I don't want you to think I am critical. Speak in the first person. He must be saying: "My father," "I." Use those pronouns when you interpret. Say just what he said. Don't say what you think.

Father PEREZ. My father spoke against the government and in speaking thus, he was assassinated by someone from the police force. This is the activity of my father as I have said it.

Senator Dodd. Tell us about your own experience with the Batista government. Make it brief. Give us the essence of it.

Father PEREZ. Since I knew who Fulgencio Batista was, I knew of the last months which were lacking in authority and there was disorder in the country. But I knew and recognized Fulgencio Batista. He was disordered, and I knew of the bad consequences.

Senator Dodd. Were you part of any underground movement against Batista in Cuba?

Father PEREZ. Yes. I was involved in the Movement of July 26.

Senator Dodd. So you did everything you could to bring about Batista's downfall, is that right?

Father PEREZ. I did everything possible, even to the extent of endangering my life.

Senator Dodd. Batista heard about this, did he not?

Father PEREZ. Yes, he did.

Senator Dodd. And as a result you had to leave Cuba?

Father PEREZ. No. I did not leave.

Senator Dodd. You never left Cuba?

Father PEREZ. No. Never.

Senator Dodd. Were you in any wise punished for your activities, or restricted, I guess would be the better word? Were you restricted in any way?

Father PEREZ. Yes, I was.

Senator Dodd. How? Tell us how?

Father PEREZ. They watched me constantly. They checked my house very often. They would look for my brothers, with arms.

Senator Dodd. All right. Now, in any event, it is well established here. You told us on the record that you did resist Batista. Now, did you support the Castro movement when that started in Cuba?

Father PEREZ. Yes.

Is this at the present or before?

Senator Dodd. I mean when it first started.

Father PEREZ. I served or approved of Castro until I discovered he was a Communist. I was commissioned by the government for 15 days, commissioned mayor of the town by the government for 15 days.

Senator Dodd. I think this is a good place to break off for the recess. So we will recess until 2:15.

(Whereupon, at 12 o'clock meridian, a recess was taken until 2:15 p.m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The subcommittee reconvened at 2:15 p.m., pursuant to recess.

(Present: Senators Dodd and Keating; Mr. Sourwine and Mr. Mandel.)

Senator Dodd. Please come to order.

Because we have a witness who wishes to leave the city today, we will interrupt the testimony of Father Perez, with Father Perez' permission, and call instead Mr. Diaz Balart.

Representative ANFUZO. Mr. Chairman, Senator Keating, it is my very happy privilege this afternoon to introduce to this committee Dr. Rafael Diaz Balart, a former Senator of Cuba, a man who studied for many years in this country, who is a devoted citizen of his country, a disciple of the famous hero of Cuba, Marti. He has been a resident of the United States, which country he has always worshiped because of its democratic principles, and it has always been his idea to carry out those principles in his native land.

He knows a great deal about the present difficulties going on in Cuba today. He feels deeply that the country is going communistic, that it is being alienated from the United States, for which the people of Cuba have always had a great love and admiration. He feels deeply that the people of Cuba do not like the separation which their dictator form of government is leading them to. He happens to be a brother-in-law of the present ruler of Cuba, not by choice, but it is something that happened.

And he is here, I am sure, to tell this committee the whole truth about Cuba. And I can assure the committee that he will be very cooperative, as he has been in the past with the staff of this committee, and is indeed at your disposal. I thank you very much for this opportunity of being able to present him.

Senator Dodd. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I do.

TESTIMONY OF RAFAEL LINCOLN DIAZ BALART

Senator Dodd. Have a chair.

You speak English, I believe.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir, a little bit.

Senator Dodd. If you need an interpreter, she will be present.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your full name, sir?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Rafael Lincoln Diaz Balart.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your residence?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I live in New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a lawyer?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you a member of the bar of Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you a member of the bar of any State of the United States?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you go to school?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Havana University, and University of Oriente.

Mr. SOURWINE. When?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. From 1945, when I started Havana University.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a prominent classmate in law school?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes. I was a classmate of Premier Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were a classmate of Fidel Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you formerly a member of the National Legislature of Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long have you been in the United States?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Since January 15, 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did you leave Cuba and come here?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I left Cuba on December 20, 1958, to Europe, for some professional business, and while there the Communist forces of Castro arrived to power, so I remained there until January 15 when I came here to the United States.

Senator KEATING. May I inquire?

You mean that your relationship is that your wife is a sister of Fidel Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, my sister was the wife of Castro.

Senator KEATING. I see. Thank you.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I would like to ask Your Honor's permission to read a very brief opening statement, if it is possible.

Senator Dodd. All right. Go ahead.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. As a Cuban, and as a public person, I appreciate the hospitality extended to me by this great brother country of the United States of America. I am happy to respond to the subpoena of this distinguished committee to appear before it. I do so with the same feeling of appreciation as I would if I were invited to come before any other representative body of the other free countries of America in order to cooperate with my best knowledge towards the understanding of our mutual problems, and for the better defense of the democratic Christian principles that are fundamental in the Americas. These principles are increasingly being threatened from Alaska to the Rio Plata, by the subversive activities of imperialistic and atheistic international Communists. Fulfilling this appearance, which I have been requested to do by this honorable committee, I wish to emphasize my profound faith in the moral resources of the Cuban people.

I am sure that they know how to proceed in the struggle for the total liberation from Communist tyranny and oppression that today is ruling that country, and from their spreading hatred and provocation throughout the Western Hemisphere.

I wish also to give this committee and public opinion generally a clear and definite assurance of my devotion to the friendship and solidarity of the peoples of the American Continent. And I want

to express my respect and faith in the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of the respective countries, which are fundamental principles of the Organization of the American States.

I shall always have profound love for this great country of liberty and brotherhood. Thank you very much.

Senator DODD. All right, sir. Thank you.

Go ahead, Mr. Sourwine.

Senator KEATING. Just one question. You are a citizen of Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Senator KEATING. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Congressman Anfuso mentioned that you were Fidel Castro's brother-in-law, and you said that your sister was Fidel Castro's wife. I take it your use of the past tense means that she no longer is his wife.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is your sister still alive?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. She is then divorced from Fidel Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. That is right.

Senator KEATING. Is she living in Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Diaz Balart, did you ever hold a position in the Government of Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What position?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I was Under Secretary of Interior, before being elected a congressman.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was that?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. 1952.

Mr. SOURWINE. Under Batista?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever hold office under any President other than Batista?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you, then, a pro-Batista Cuban? You were part of the Batista government?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes. I was pro-Batista before 1952, when the party that he founded—he called it a new party, and he called the Cuban youth to join that party in order to fight for order, for progress, and for stability of the Cuban country. And I liked those principles. I joined him in the opposition. I was the leader of the youth party in all the nation while we were in the opposition. And in 1952, when the coup d'état took place—in 1952, 10th of March—I continued with Batista, because he promised to give the country progress and stability, and I was very much concerned with the terrible situation of my country before those years when the life, the human life didn't have any value at all. And being a Christian, as I am, I have always thought that it is not possible to think in any other human principle in any country if you don't have before anything the guarantee of the human life, and of the human dignity.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you leave the Batista government?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I was elected in 1954 a congressman, and I continued within the government of Batista with very definite and

peculiar point of view, as head of the youth movement. We were asking Batista in private and in public for honesty in the government, for progress, for stability, for free elections, and there is a matter of record, even in the U.S. magazine like Time, of that time, when we asked in a big rally of more than 80,000 young men and women all throughout the island headed by me, we asked Batista to have free elections.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever break with Batista?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I had a lot of struggle with Batista, and that is also a matter of record in all the press of my country. After I was elected in 1954, as the No. 1 of all the representatives of my province, I denounced the corruption of those elections in my Oriente Province, and I had trouble with Batista. After the big rally in 1953, I made very clear in my speech before the Presidential Palace, that we didn't agree with the politics of Batista, that we didn't agree with the cabinet of Batista, and because of that I was out of the country for several months.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you return?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I returned, and I had a meeting with my organization, national organization, several times. We were making pressure in the government of Batista for progress. We were asking for a land reform, a constitutional land reform, and we were expecting to make Batista to have some changes. After that, when the civil war was working, and working in spite of our efforts, when Castro led the attack to the Moncada barracks in 1953, before that there was not a single death in the situation of Cuba. Castro provoked it, without any reason in that moment—the attack on the Moncada barracks, with 80 men, knowing, as you can realize very easily, that he was not going to fulfill. And besides that, that he had any chances to get the barracks, he was not able to do anything with that. Then he just made that attack in order to promote himself as a leader in his own party.

After that a civil war started. And we realized it, in meetings one after another, in my organization, that then Fidel Castro, with the backing of the international machinery of the Communists, was going to get the power if other sectors of the Cuban public life was fighting openly against the Batista regime. So we had to choose between maybe two evils at that moment, and we knew what it would mean to our country that Fidel Castro and the Communists would get power.

That was the whole story of my attitude in that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never supported Fidel Castro, then?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Not at all. I attacked him.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never supported the 26th of July Movement?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No; I denounced in the very beginning, in the press of my country, when Raul Castro, which I know very well personally, since he started to study the Communist doctrine, and he started to be a Communist agent—I denounced that in the press of my country, though I was in that moment a friend in a personal affair, and I told the public opinion of my country the danger of believing in the Castro movement, not only because they were above all Communists, but also because I knew very well, as the public opinion of Cuba knew, that Castro was nothing else than an opportunist and a gangster, that had started his public life as a juvenile delinquent. And that is a matter of record in the press of Cuba, also.

Mr. SOURWINE. We have a great many witnesses to hear, Mr. Diaz Balart, and I don't want to cut you off at all, but I should like to request, with the permission of the Chair, that you keep your answers to the questions as short as you can. If you think you are being cut off when you have information you want to give, just tell us.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Thank you very much.

Senator DODD. Before you leave this question, I do not think it is clear on the record—you opposed and criticized Batista at times, and you opposed Castro. And you made the remark, "I left the country for a few months." What year?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. That was 1953, November.

Senator DODD. When did you return?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I returned 2 months after.

Senator DODD. Two months?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Three months after.

Senator DODD. In 1953?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. That is right.

Senator DODD. And you were in Cuba continuously from 1953 until when?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Until December 20, 1958.

Senator DODD. Then you went to Europe?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Senator DODD. Then you came to the United States from Europe?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. That is correct.

Senator KEATING. May I ask one other question? When you say you left the country, was that because Batista ordered you to leave?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, not exactly, no. I was a member of the Government, but within the Government I led the youth movement. We had a struggle within the Government, so I felt that it was better to—

Senator DODD. Was it because of Batista or not?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No; I cannot say that.

Senator DODD. You left on your own?

Senator KEATING. Did you leave under any pressure?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, not at all. It was moral pressure, because

I—

Senator KEATING. Any threats?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, not at all. No threats. It was a question of moral and ideological point of view.

Mr. SOURWINE. The youth movement you speak of would be called in English the Youth of Action Progressive Party?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, it was a Youth of Action Unitarian Party when we were in the opposition, and Action Progressive Party when we were in the Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you were opposed to Castro. Were you also opposed to Prio?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, I was opposed to Prio when Prio was in power.

Senator KEATING. You were opposed to all these people?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Senator KEATING. Who were you for?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I am for the liberty and progress of my country.

Senator KEATING. I mean you didn't have any particular individual?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No. In that time, I was in favor of Batista, because I thought, before 1952, that he was a solution for the Cuban people. He had left the power in 1944, after 11 years being in power, and having all the power in his hands—he lost an election, a general election, and he left the power, he gave to his worst enemy the power, and he visit all the countries of Latin America as a democratic hero. So he was a real hope for the Cuban people—at least I thought that that was the situation.

Senator KEATING. But you became disillusioned about Batista in what year?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Increasingly. I personally continued being his friend, but increasingly I talked to him, and I told him publicly also that he should give progress and another attitude to his government.

Senator KEATING. Would it be fair to say that you were anti-Batista when you left to go to Europe?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Pardon me, sir?

Senator KEATING. Were you anti-Batista, against Batista, when you left to go to Europe?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Ideologically, yes. But I cannot say politically I was yet against Batista, because we were in a civil war, and I thought, and my movement thought, that to oppose publicly and definitely to Batista would mean in that moment to help the Castro movement, which had the weapons and had all the sources to get power. And we knew that as soon as the power was out of the hands of Batista, by a violent means, not by a normal means, as we were expecting to be, we knew that the only one that was going to get the power was Fidel Castro, and the Communists. Not even Carlos Prio or any of the other people.

Senator KEATING. Now, let me ask you this. Do you consider the Castro dictatorship worse than the Batista dictatorship?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. It is very different. The Batista dictatorship was only a political dictatorship. The Castro dictatorship can only be compared in America, I think, to Peron, and even much worse than Peron, because the Castro dictatorship is a complete and a total dictatorship. I think that is the first real example of absolute and complete totalitarian government in the American Hemisphere. And, besides that, and above all, is the first real Communist state in our hemisphere.

Senator KEATING. You consider it a Communist state?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Absolutely. I don't think there is any doubt in this moment in the minds of any that is a student of the Communist tactics and the Communist struggle. The point is that, as I have told several times—for instance, when they asked me is Castro a Communist, I remember a professor that I had in the law school, that always taught also when you are going to talk about a very important matter you should start sharpening the terminology, and it is important when somebody asks if Castro or is anybody a Communist, it is important to know what do they mean by Communist.

Now, Castro is not a card holder of the Communist Party in Cuba, never has been. But, at the same time, the card holder of the Socialist Party, or the Communist Party in Cuba, maybe a lot of them are less dangerous and less important members of the Communist machinery.

What happens is that Castro is a member of the Third International, which they don't have a card never.

I want to affirm, with all my faith and all my knowledge, that Fidel Castro is the most important and most dangerous member in the Western Hemisphere of the Communist International machinery since the Russian revolution.

Senator KEATING. You don't favor the return of Batista, do you?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. We are very, very much opposed to that. We formed a movement, an underground movement, which is working very hard in Cuba, with two principal purposes—to overthrow the dictatorship of the Communists, and to prevent any possibility of the return to power of Batista.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that organization the so-called Blanco Rosa, the White Rose?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you hold a position in that organization?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir; I am the founder and the general secretary.

Senator DODD. Let me ask you a question. You said you thought Castro succeeded because he overthrew Batista. Was there any third place you could have looked for some decent element to control the Government of Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. That is a very nice question. In that moment, sir, with the civil war extended, we tried to have that third position, or third possibility, several times.

Senator DODD. Did you have a man who you thought would make a good president of Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Not personally I, but there was the possibility. There was, for instance, Dr. Marcus Esterlin, who was a candidate of the opposition in the election. But what happened is that Fidel Castro had all the weapons, all the backing of the Communist machinery—money, weapons, propaganda, and at the same time, because of the very intelligent propaganda of the Communist International machinery, he got the help of the right men, and of the right personality—even of the organization of the founder's rights. So Fidel Castro had at this moment, because of the very intelligent Communist propaganda, he had the help, the decisive help of the Communists and of the enemies of the Communists. So in that moment practically to anybody that studied the Cuban situation, in the middle of the civil war, there was not any other possibility, and the history, the recent history, has proved that we had.

Senator DODD. Did you ever suggest to Batista he withdraw in favor of a moderate candidate?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. We suggested to him to give free elections. We suggested to him in 1956 that—after the amnesty that favored Fidel Castro himself—we suggested a partial election of all the House of Representatives, all the Senate, and Governors, in order to have the basis, in order to have a change of the Government in 1958. And we were advocating that solution openly in the public opinion. And, after that, the Congress had a mediation that didn't succeed because of the gangsterism, subversion of the Castro and the Communist movement—that threatened any people, even in the opposition, that

were threatening the pressmen, since the Sierra Maestra, that were threatening to kill anybody that were opposing the solution—the only solution of the Communist Party under the Fidelista movement was having—that is silence in order to get power as they got.

Senator KEATING. Let me ask you a question. You referred to Fidel Castro as, I think you said, the most prominent member of the Communist International movement in the Western Hemisphere but probably or not a card-carrying Communist.

Now, were you in law school with Fidel Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Senator KEATING. Can you tell us anything about his activities there of a political character?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes. Right when he started at the university, in 1945, it was very easy for him, and at the same time for the Communists that had and always have had a very powerful branch in the University of Havana—it was very easy for both of them to get to a very nice understanding, because Communists know—

Senator DODD. I think if you just answer the question—don't give all the reasons why. Senator Keating may want to know them later. But tell what he did and what he said.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes. About what?

Senator KEATING. About his political activities when you were in law school with him.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Well, he started, as I told you, as a juvenile delinquent, he started killing our fellow students, and united with the Communists, and going in any activity as a front man of the Communists. He had a very well understanding with the Communist movement, because they needed a front man, and Fidel needed them to back him.

Senator KEATING. Was he recognized by the other students as acting in that capacity at the time?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Oh, yes. But he was always very much careful not to appear. And also the Communist—in order not to appear as a Communist.

Senator DODD. How do you know he was a Communist when he was a student?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I knew that he started together with them, because I knew who were the Communists by name. They were open.

Senator DODD. Were you told this by others?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, I knew that by myself.

Senator DODD. You saw him associating with them. Do you know he was a member? How do you know that?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, he was not in that moment a member. He was just in that moment an opportunist leader that wanted to promote himself.

Senator DODD. So your answer is he was associated with people you think were Communists?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No. In that moment he was associated with people that I know were Communists, because they told to everybody.

Senator DODD. He associated with them. Do you know any more than that?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. And after that, in that procedure, was that when they started to be very useful to each other. I know all the process,

because I had to leave the country in 1947 to come to the United States, because I was opposed to Castro.

Senator DODD. We know that. Tell us any more you know.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. About his Communist activities?

Senator DODD. Yes, about Castro when he was a student at the university. That is what Senator Keating asked you.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Exactly he told me that he was going to go with the Communists because it was the best way for a young leader that was thinking in the future to promote himself to the highest rank.

Senator DODD. Castro told you that?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Senator DODD. All right. That is an answer to the question. What else?

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Leonel Soto?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he a Communist?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, he was an open leader of the Communist movement.

Mr. SOURWINE. What, if any, were Castro's dealings with him?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. He was also always very well connected to him, and to other Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Alfredo Guevara?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the same as "Che" Guevara?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you identify Alfredo Guevara?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, he was a student leader of the Communist branch in Havana University, and of the intellectual branch, and now he is the head of the Anemotographic Institute in Cuba, and the head of the indoctrination program of the Army forces.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he related to "Che" Guevara?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I don't think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Castro associated with Alfredo Guevara?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know General Pedraza?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Never I have talked with him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge respecting Castro's association with General Pedraza, if any?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. General Pedraza?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mas Martin?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was he?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. He was a leader of the Communist youth.

Mr. SOURWINE. Communist youth?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. In Cuba, Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. At the Havana University?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. While Castro was attending Havana University, was he connected in any way with Mas Martin?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, in all his activities he was having the backing of the youth movement of the Communist Party that Mas Martin was one of the leaders.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Flavio Bravo?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he a Communist?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, he was also a leader of the youth.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Castro associated with him?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir, also.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know a Valdes Viveo?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Valdes Viveo? Yes; he was also a well-known Communist leader.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Castro associated with him?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Also.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Fabio Grobart?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Not personally. I knew of his presence in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was he?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I think from what I heard, he was a commissar of the Communist movement. Maybe the highest ranking representative of the Third International in Cuba in that moment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Grobart a Cuban?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I don't think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was his nationality?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I think Yugoslav, but I am not sure, because I think that he used to use different names.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he ever associated with Castro, or vice versa?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Well, I think through these other people that you have—

Mr. SOURWINE. Please, not what you think. Do you know?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know one Leonel Gomez?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes; I know who he was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was he?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. He was the leader of the secondary institute of Havana.

(At this point, Senator Keating withdrew from the hearing room.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he the president of the student body in Havana No. 1 High School?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he alive now?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is still alive?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. He is still alive.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall that he was shot in 1947 on Ronda Street in Havana?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who shot him?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir. Fidel Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you know this?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Because Fidel Castro told me that. He invited me to participate with him in the killing of that student, and I re-

fused, because I am a Christian, I am against killing, and besides that, there was not any reason to.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did he want to kill Gomez?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Because he thought at that moment that Gomez, being a personal friend of President Marti, at that moment the President of Cuba, he was going to be a big obstacle before the ambition of Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Gomez a Communist?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No; I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he an anti-Communist?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, was Castro in your home immediately after the shooting of Gomez?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was he doing there?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. He was trying to hide.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was there by your invitation?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No; he was there because he was my friend.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Manolo Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he any relation to Fidel Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No; no relation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was Manolo Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. He was the leader and president of the Federation of University Students of Havana University, a great leader of the student body.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he alive?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No; he was killed by Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. By Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Personally?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did he kill him?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. It was in the middle of a street in Havana. This was very much publicized by all the papers in Havana. And Castro before, some weeks before, had told publicly in Havana University that he was going to kill Manolo Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. You told us that Fidel Castro had told you that he had shot Leonel Gomez. Did he ever tell you anything about killing Manolo Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No; I was not in Havana then.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not see the murder?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Fidel Castro ever accused of this murder?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes; very much. He had to go before the court.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he tried for the murder?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said he had to go before the court. What did you mean?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. In the preliminary procedures of the court—but he did not continue with that. He went to Bogota at that moment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Fidel Castro went to Bogota?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the court absolve him of the killing of Manolo Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No. I think that it was not held—the hearing was not held.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Fernandez Caral?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes; he was a sergeant of the police body of the Havana University.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he still alive?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No; he was killed by Fidel Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you know this?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Because Fidel Castro had told to all my friends after he killed Castro that he was going to have to kill Fernandez Caral, because the sergeant had told that he was going to put Fidel in jail because of the previous killing.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any personal knowledge respecting the killing of Caral?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No; through my brothers, and through the other friend—I was not in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no personal knowledge?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No personal knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Carlos Rafael Rodriguez?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I know who he is.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know him personally?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is he?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. He is one of the biggest leaders of the Communist Party in Cuba, in the intellectual branch.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does he have any connection with Fidel Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes; I think that he is a very close adviser of Fidel Castro, and he is the editor of the newspaper *Hoy*, the official newspaper of the Communist Party in Cuba today. Incidentally, he was just given by the Government a position for the first time in Havana University, an open Communist, a position of professor of economics that was created by him especially.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Raul Castro?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is Fidel Castro's brother?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether he is a Communist?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. He is a very well trained Communist agent.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you know this?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Because he went to Prague, after he had already become a member of the Communist movement, ideology—he was trained there. When he came back, he was got by the police in the airport with Communist propaganda, and when he was released from the prison, he talked with my brother, Waldo, and he told to him that he was in prison, but that he was ready not only to be in prison, but to die for the Communist cause.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how Raul Castro became a Communist?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, because Fidel Castro put him in contact with the intellectual machinery of the Communist Party, being Raul a very young man, and they indoctrinated him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember telling us that Fidel Castro gave his brother Raul copies of Marx's works?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes. That was part of the indoctrination that I just told you.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you know he did?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Because I was there, and I knew both of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how it came about that Raul Castro met "Che" Guevara?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I think that was in Mexico, through Raul Castro and through other Communists, Cuban and Mexican.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how this came about? Not what you think—do you know?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. No, I was not in Mexico at that moment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Vera Lestovna de Zalka?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is she?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Not personally.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not personally. Who is she?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I think she is a very high ranking member of the Communist machinery in America, in Latin America, through the diplomatic ways.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know this to be true?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I cannot assure you; I think. I have the impression. To me it is sure, but not to tell officially to the committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does she have diplomatic connections?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Pardon me?

Mr. SOURWINE. Does she have diplomatic connections?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes; I think she is the wife of a Hungarian Ambassador in South America.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what country?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I think this is in Argentina. All that story has been published in the very well-known magazine, Vanguardia, by one of the ranking Communist writers of South America, Mr. Rudolfo Alvenas.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of any connection between Fidel Castro and this woman?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Not exactly. I know the connection of Fidel Castro throughout Latin America. Maybe, I think that Fidel Castro now is more important than any other agent in Latin America.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall giving us the names of two Russians whom you said arrived in Cuba in May 1959, to inaugurate a new type of labor movement in South America?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, I recall that. That was almost a year ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who were those two Russians?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I think the name Timofei, and another name I do not recall, because I do not have a very good memory for Russian names.

Mr. SOURWINE. One name you gave us is Eremev Timofei?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the other name you gave us is Ivan Arapov?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I think so; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you or didn't you?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Pardon me?

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give us those names?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you know of the arrival of those two Russians in Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I was informed by my underground movement that they were in a specific hotel, for one of the people that was serving them was a member of my movement.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you able to tell us how Fidel Castro was able to get support and money for his revolution?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I think there was something like a circle, working out above all through very nice propaganda. Of course, some of the situation of the regime in that moment was, naturally, maybe helping him. And through a very well—by a very well integrated propaganda—for example, some articles by Herbert Matthews, of the New York Times, that were helping him very much, was in the Sierra Maestra at the beginning of Castro, and he published in the New York Times that he had seen personally hundreds and hundreds of very well trained soldiers, was a high morale, anti-Communist, and so forth.

And now the Castro people had published, after they got power, and there is in the Cuban magazines, that in that moment they just had about 12 or 13 men. And propaganda like this—you can see that they were given the impression that they had already a very strong movement, a very high moral movement, and so forth.

And I think that the Communists got the idea that there was an opportunity to help that movement.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the 26th of July Movement have support from the United States before Castro's regime came to power?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. A lot of support.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was that support centered, if you know?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Pardon me, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was that support centered, if you know?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Well, I think that it was centered in New York City, in Miami, and even they got some help from the naval base in Guantanamo.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where the headquarters of the 26th of July Movement in New York City is?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Right now it is in the Belvedere Hotel.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Belvedere Hotel?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. The Belvedere; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is 319 West 49th Street, New York City?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, I think so. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you name any of the persons in this country who are presently working for Castro, outside of the Cuban Embassy?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Besides the people of the Embassy?

Mr. SOURWINE. Outside.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Outside, yes.

Although they are not any more registered in the Justice Department, they represent the Cuban Government—they have had headquarters, as I told, in Hotel Belvedere.

There is a Secretary General called Mr. Jose Sanchez. They have a link through a man called Jose Vazquez. And they give money through the consulate and through the Cubana Airlines. They have,

according to their own statement published in the newspaper—they have what they call commando actions in New York City and Miami, that they use in New York City and Miami, in order to threaten every Cuban that is against Castro, that is not a Communist, and is not pro-Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any information respecting the use of violence by the 26th of July organization to break up a celebration in Central Park in honor of Jose Marti in January of this year?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you know about that?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Pardon me?

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you know about the use of violence on that occasion?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Well, the White Rose organization asked for a permit to the Police Department of New York City in order to put a wreath of flowers before the Marti monument in Central Park South, and when we were arriving there having the wreath, we were attacked and the police of New York were attacked by them, by a bunch of gangsters headed by a man named Hector Duarte, who is a cop killer, that had arrived before with a diplomat passport. And the police of New York, although they questioned him, was not able to act because of the diplomatic passport. And they started attacking also with irons and stones and so forth. And after that they published in the Revolution newspaper the picture of the act and how these people received orders from the commando action in order to attack violently us. And in fact there was the intention to kill Colonel Melepsosa and myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does the 26th of July Movement conduct fund-raising activities in the United States, to your knowledge?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes. I have a card of one of the acts that they had in 691 Columbus Avenue, between 93d and 94th Street in New York, Saturday, 23d of April, for instance, where they are electing a Queen of the Land Reform in New York—50 cents every one of these cards.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge respecting a meeting of the 26th of July Movement at 914 Prospect Avenue in the Bronx, on April 22, 1960?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes, sir. There was there talking the Consul Rogelio Guillot and Mr. Jose Vazquez.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge regarding a meeting held in Union Square, New York City, May 1, 1960?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes. At that meeting a special agent of the Communist movement in the labor organization of Cuba, Mr. Gustavo Mas, arrived there to address in that meeting in Union Square on the question of Negro unrest in the United States, and the question of the independence of Puerto Rico, and other international and national questions of the United States of America, in order to start a movement that they have been organizing very well to provoke troubles within the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this meeting in Union Square held under the auspices of the 26th of July Movement?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. I am not sure what auspices, because I was already here in Washington. I think that was the 26th of July Move-

ment, or some American organization. I am not sure about that. I know that Gustavo Mas was there and talked about these things.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is Gustavo Mas?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. He is a high-ranking labor leader of the Communist movement in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what Fidel Castro's aim is with regard to the United States?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes. I think—I mean I know that the Communists, as any man that studies a little bit of the procedure of the Communists, they know by elementary knowledge of the geopolitics that it is not possible to have a common state here in the Western Hemisphere. So it has been published very much, they have the theory of what they call *terra arras sol*, that is to say, I think, the theory of the complete destruction of the land, which is the theory of Mao Tse-tung, the Communist leader, which is one of the best theoretical minds of the Communist movement, and that is what they are trying to do in Cuba, to destroy absolutely the land and to provoke from Cuba a struggle within the United States, taking advantage of some situations in the United States—taking advantage of some situation between the United States and other countries of Latin America, and to promote a revolution, or if not a revolution at least a struggle, a provocation, a big fighting, within the United States and in other countries of Latin America.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do I understand correctly that through your organization, the White Rose, you have an information flow from Cuba to you? You get information from Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes; quite often.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does this information give you any knowledge respecting the aims of the Castro regime as against other countries in Latin America?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Yes. They have got already a very good base in Cuba, which they are using as a center for the provocation in all Latin America, and in the United States, and between the United States and Latin America.

Mr. SOURWINE. A provocation of what?

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Struggles, confusion, troubles. For instance, there is a situation in the Negro problem in some of the United States, that only those States maybe understand. Now, that has been having a peculiar situation, and what would happen if—what would happen if some provocateurs, Communist provocateurs, try to form mobs, besides the natural feeling of those that I do not judge, because I am not a citizen of this country.

Besides that is the very well-trained Communist agitator, go there and start mobs, and that mob start, exercise violence, like they have done in other countries, when it would be necessary to have one killing—that killing starts more violence and more bad feelings. And that is the way that they work all throughout the world.

As an example—we have examples throughout the world now.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no further questions.

Senator DODD. Very well. You may be excused. Thank you very much.

Mr. DIAZ BALART. Thank you very much.

Senator DODD. Father Perez.

**FURTHER TESTIMONY OF ROSARIO MAXILLIANO PEREZ  
(THROUGH AN INTERPRETER)**

Senator DODD. You have already been sworn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Father Perez, you have told us when you were on the stand before how your father had been killed by Batista forces. Is it true that other members of your family were molested or injured by Batista forces?

Father PEREZ. I have one sister, brother-in-law—making a total of three brothers and a brother-in-law who had been more or less molested or to some extent tortured.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Fidel Castro when he was in the Sierra Maestra?

Father PEREZ. No; I did not know him when he was in the Sierra Maestra.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any information respecting a proposal to create a national church in Cuba?

Father PEREZ. Fidel Castro proposed to me in airplane the proposal to start a national church.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he referring to making the Catholic Church the national church of Cuba?

Father PEREZ. He proposed to establish a national church.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not the Catholic Church?

Father PEREZ. A revolutionary church of the Government.

Senator DODD. When did he tell you this proposition—where?

Father PEREZ. Aboard an airplane flight from Cienfuegos to Havana.

Senator DODD. When?

Father PEREZ. This was proposed the first part of August of 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I ask the interpreter, are you translating verbatim, that is word for word, what the witness says, or are you just giving the sense of what he says, or the substance of it?

The INTERPRETER. I am trying to give the substance of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. We would much prefer if you would attempt to translate word for word. Perhaps if you would take just a moment and explain to the witness that you are going to try to do this, let him say as many words as you can remember, have a signal between you, then translate that into English verbatim, and then let him say something else and go on that way. We will then get the record in his own words.

(After a pause and colloquy between the interpreter and the witness.)

Is this now arranged?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. When Castro made you this offer, did he give you any inducements, did he promise you anything if you would do this for him?

Father PEREZ. He asked me why I did not join him in starting this church. He asked me to establish with him a church of the Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he offer to make you head of this church?

Father PEREZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you refuse this offer?

Father PEREZ. Profoundly; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did Castro threaten you in any way because of your refusal?

Father PEREZ. No; not in any way.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of any other effort to establish a national church in Cuba?

Father PEREZ. I personally do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge respecting a treaty between Raul Castro and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics?

Father PEREZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you know about this?

Father PEREZ. A document that President Batista passed through the military establishments, where there was a photostatic copy of that treaty.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see this?

Father PEREZ. I have seen it with my eyes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what did this treaty provide, if you know?

Father PEREZ. It related to a mutual help or aid—to accept mutual aid from Russia. And it was a Russian who was sending to Raul Castro instructions and Raul accepted them as such.

Mr. SOURWINE. What were the instructions?

Father PEREZ. I did not see all. I saw the photograph of Raul. I saw the picture of Raul, and with that it was proof to prove that what existed in Sierra Maestra was Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. I do not understand this. We were talking about a documentary treaty. And now suddenly we are talking about a picture. Can you explain this?

The INTERPRETER. He is trying to say that he had seen a photostatic copy of a picture, with notations indicating that existed in Sierra Maestra—Raul was in communication with Russia. And Batista obtained that document and passed it on to the military establishment.

Mr. SOURWINE. And this is what he refers to as a treaty?

The INTERPRETER. It would just reflect an intimate relationship between Raul and the Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there a treaty? A treaty is a pact between governments. Was there a treaty involving Raul Castro and the Soviet Union?

The INTERPRETER. No; but relations—interrelations; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the word "treaty" has been misused here?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who Jose Santiago Cuba is?

Father PEREZ. Intimately.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is he?

Father PEREZ. He is president of the First Rical of Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does that mean—the First Rical?

Father PEREZ. One who has the supreme authority.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he a lawyer?

Father PEREZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he president of the lawyers' association of Cuba?

Father PEREZ. I cannot say. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether he is a Communist?

Father PEREZ. He was the head of the party known as the Chivas.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he now the attorney general of Cuba?

Father PEREZ. Still referring to the same gentleman who is the president of this organization of the Chivas—this gentleman went to Russia and returned to Cuba to take up a position or a job with the Cuban Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what that position is?

Father PEREZ. Well, it would be like a first deputy—to accept the position of first deputy in the Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were there Communists in the armed forces of Cuba under the Batista regime?

Father PEREZ. Several military men approached me speaking badly of Batista, at the same time Batista was in power. Today they hold positions of commanders under the revolutionary government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether these men or any of them were Communist or are Communists?

Father PEREZ. It appears that they are, because they declared themselves to be left. For example, Captain Sierra, who is a commander.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, declaring themselves to the left is a rather loose phrase. Did any of these commanders declare themselves to be Communists?

Father PEREZ. They declared themselves to the left, meaning they were symbolizing the Communist salute. And they have saluted me that way.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any information respecting the objective of the Castro government as against other countries of Latin America?

Father PEREZ. From the military captain at Minoa, there were some instructions to invade Santo Domingo, and they did it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there any other information you have that you care to give us?

Father PEREZ. I was among people and heard of plans to invade other countries.

Mr. SOURWINE. What other countries?

Father PEREZ. Paraguay, Panama, and some demonstrated hatred against Guatemala.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DODD. Very well. Thank you, Father Perez, you are excused.

Senator DODD. Do you have any other witnesses?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I should like to inquire first if Father O'Farril is here.

May we (after a pause) Mr. Chairman, call Colonel Carrillo?

Senator DODD. Yes. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF COL. MANUEL ANTONIO UGALDE CARRILLO (THROUGH THE INTERPRETER)

Senator DODD. Tell us your name and address?

Colonel CARRILLO. Manuel Antonio Ugalde Carrillo.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where do you live?

Colonel CARRILLO. 334 Aledo Avenue, Coral Gables, Fla.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a citizen of Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a graduate of the Cuban Military Academy?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, I am a graduate.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have been an officer in the Cuban Army. What positions?

Colonel CARRILLO. I was an officer of the general army of Cuba, not the present one.

Mr. SOURWINE. What position did you hold?

Colonel CARRILLO. Full colonel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you Chief of Military Intelligence at any time for the Cuban Army?

Colonel CARRILLO. For 2 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. What years?

Colonel CARRILLO. 1952 to the middle of 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was under Batista?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. For how many years altogether were you an officer in the Cuban Army?

Colonel CARRILLO. I graduated in 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. When?

Colonel CARRILLO. 1944 to 1958.

Senator DODD. When did you graduate?

Colonel CARRILLO. 1944.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were then an army officer under several presidents?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you Chief of the Bureau of Repression of Communist Activities?

Colonel CARRILLO. For the 2 years that I was the Chief of the Military Intelligence.

Mr. SOURWINE. During that period you had access to the files of this organization?

Colonel CARRILLO. To check them, to get them, and to prohibit—to pursue those violators as provided by law.

Mr. SOURWINE. The files of this organization were open to you?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were familiar with those files?

Colonel CARRILLO. Perfectly.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will ask you shortly some questions about this file. But first, when did you leave Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. January 1, 1959, at 4 p.m.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you came to the United States?

Colonel CARRILLO. No, to the Dominican Republic.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you come to the United States?

Colonel CARRILLO. November 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. From the date of your departure one might assume that you left Cuba when Batista fled and went with him to the Dominican Republic. Is that correct?

Colonel CARRILLO. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a supporter of Batista up to the time that he was overthrown?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, I was, until he was overthrown.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you take part in the fighting against the 26th of July Movement?

Colonel CARRILLO. Against, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a field commander?

Colonel CARRILLO. Chief of the Military Intelligence Service.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you command troops in the field against the Castro forces?

Colonel CARRILLO. For 14 months.

Senator DODD. What did you command? What do you call it—a division, or how do you describe it?

Colonel CARRILLO. An infantry division.

Senator DODD. How many men are in a Cuban division, or how many men were under your command?

Colonel CARRILLO. At the start of operations, 4,000. Later they increased to 6,000 or 7,000.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were these all of the troops in the field against Castro?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were then the commander in chief in the field of all the troops against Castro?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, particularly, in the Sierra Maestra.

Senator DODD. Well, were there any other troops in the field against him anywhere in Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. All military in Cuba, and the major part of the Cuban people.

Senator DODD. But you actually had command of the army, the troops that were committed against him, is that right?

Colonel CARRILLO. Only in the Sierra Maestra area.

Senator DODD. That is where Castro was all the time.

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You headed the expeditionary force against Castro?

Colonel CARRILLO. Those forces, for the 14 months, and the last one was General Cantillo.

Senator DODD. I think you told us 4,000 to 7,000. How many did Castro have on the other side?

Colonel CARRILLO. During the time that I was the chief, Castro only had in the mountains of the Sierra Maestra where 50,000 families reside, 700 to 800 men.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did 700 or 800 men defeat 4,000 to 6,000?

Colonel CARRILLO. It is a big error that the democratic world owes to the Communist propaganda. The Communists of Cuba never broke up the military forces of Cuba.

Senator DODD. Did you ever fight a battle against them—your troops?

Colonel CARRILLO. The forces of Castro never gave battle or attacked regularly, only assassinated during the night soldiers traveling from one side to another alone—or small portions of military units.

Senator DODD. How many men did you lose out of your 4,000 to 6,000 while you were in command?

Colonel CARRILLO. In 14 months, I do not recall well, but between 200 and 300 military men.

Senator DODD. And how many casualties or losses you think you inflicted on Castro?

Colonel CARRILLO. Very few Cubans—altogether I believe that in the 14 months in which I was chief, between 600 and 700.

Senator DODD. That left only about 100 at that rate. Was he being replenished all the time? You told us he had between 700 and 800. You lost between 200 and 300. You think you gave him losses between 600 and 700. How do you account for this?

Colonel CARRILLO. I am speaking only of the time when I was chief.

Senator DODD. I understand that. That is all I was speaking of, too. But did you leave him with only 100 men?

Colonel CARRILLO. In August of 1958 Castro personally was going to ask—Castro asked to resign himself or give up.

Senator DODD. When?

Colonel CARRILLO. I do not recall, but it would be about August of 1958.

Senator DODD. You are a professional army officer. You are a graduate of a military school and in command of these troops in the field, commanding a division. They must have more than 800 troops in total during the time that you were in command, if you inflicted casualties between 600 and 700. Perhaps we don't understand you. Make that clear, could you, on the record?

The INTERPRETER. Would you repeat that again, Senator? He is not sure exactly if you mean Castro's side or his side.

Senator DODD. Well, this is all confused now. You told us you had between 4,000 and 6,000 troops while you were in command.

Colonel CARRILLO. In round figures.

Senator DODD. And Castro had between 700 and 800 men?

Colonel CARRILLO. In the Sierra Maestra; yes.

Senator DODD. Well, that is all I am talking about. That is where you were, that is where he was. Is that right?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Senator DODD. Now, you say you lost between 200 and 300 men during these 14 months?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Senator DODD. And you tell us that you inflicted losses on Castro between 600 and 700 in the same period of time?

Colonel CARRILLO. Castro's loss was between 400 and 600.

Senator DODD. All right. Was he left with about 200 men when he took Havana, or took the country over?

Colonel CARRILLO. I am speaking of 5 months before Castro entered Havana.

Senator DODD. I see. And he got additional troops later. Is that the idea?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, perfectly.

Senator DODD. Where did he get them from?

Colonel CARRILLO. In the cities and towns, where sympathizers were, and the Socialist Party of Cuba.

Senator DODD. You mean that for the losses he got replacements, is that it?

Colonel CARRILLO. Perfectly.

Senator DODD. Now, did you make an effort to capture or destroy his forces?

Colonel CARRILLO. For 14 months.

Senator DODD. With 4,000 to 6,000 men.

Colonel CARRILLO. Even 7,000.

Senator DODD. You never could do it?

Colonel CARRILLO. Never. It is very important that you understand the Sierra Maestra is a mountainous area, 200 miles long and 60 miles wide, and 6,000 feet elevation. Castro was always on the mountains.

Senator DODD. Did you ever have any plans to destroy or capture him?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Senator DODD. Why didn't they work?

Colonel CARRILLO. Because when Castro was going surrender, or resign, Castro would surrender to the army. The President of the Republic, Batista, designated Gen. Eulogio Cantillo, an official, being an attorney, to confer with Castro concerning his surrender.

Senator DODD. What happened?

Colonel CARRILLO. The instructions that were given to General Cantillo, before me, to remain in the area of Bayamo City (near Sierra Maestra), which was the center of operations, and to converse—confer solely with Castro—the colonel, the lawyer—Neugart is the name of this colonel. For 2 days they conferred regarding the surrender. But they came to Fidel's side after 2 days—the Argentinian known as "Che" Guevara—they did not permit that Fidel surrender. The conference ended or terminated and they left the mountains to disperse them all over Oriente Province, provoking with this, that they unite sympathizers and principally the Socialist Popular Party, Communist Party.

Senator DODD. So the negotiations broke off, is that right?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, the conference ended "Che" Guevara's intervention.

Senator DODD. Let me ask you a question and then I think we will leave off until tomorrow. Do you think Batista really wanted to defeat Castro? You were in command in the field. You ought to be able to give us an answer to that question. Did he support you, back you up? You said you had plans which would have brought about Castro's defeat, in your judgment, but you never did it. Did you think Batista really wanted to defeat him?

Colonel CARRILLO. I believe so, but he did not help me with military equipment and the necessary material.

Senator DODD. He did not help you.

Colonel CARRILLO. He did not help.

Senator DODD. What makes you think he wanted you to be victorious?

Colonel CARRILLO. I will explain that a little more.

Senator DODD. You know what we mean in English when we say maybe this was an inside job? You know what that language means?

Colonel CARRILLO. The Armed Forces of Cuba never betrayed Batista. Some men of the army conspired against Batista. But that does not mean that the Armed Forces in Cuba betrayed Batista.

Senator DODD. Who was the man who succeeded you as commander in the field? Cantillo?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, sir.

Senator DODD. Colonel or general?

Colonel CARRILLO. General.

Senator DODD. What became of him? He surrendered, didn't he?

Colonel CARRILLO. Cantillo surrendered to the forces of Castro.

Senator DODD. How many men did he have when he surrendered?

Colonel CARRILLO. More than 40,000.

Senator DODD. What?

Colonel CARRILLO. 40,000.

Senator DODD. In the field—40,000? I thought you turned over to him about 6,000 troops.

The INTERPRETER. He refers to the total number of the government forces in Cuba, not just the Sierra Maestra.

Senator DODD. How many troops that you had commanded did he have under his command when he surrendered?

Colonel CARRILLO. I left him 7,000 troops.

Senator DODD. All right. Now, what became of General Cantillo? Where is he now?

Colonel CARRILLO. He retreated the forces and permitted Fidel Castro to organize a column with his brother, Raul Castro, and depart for other new mountainous areas near Guantanamo—to the north of Guantanamo.

Senator DODD. What became of him after that?

Colonel CARRILLO. He was designated chief in the Santiago area.

Senator DODD. Designated as what?

The INTERPRETER. Chief of Regiment No. 1 in Oriente Province.

Senator DODD. Who designated him?

Colonel CARRILLO. Batista, who commanded the whole army.

Senator DODD. What did Castro do about that?

Colonel CARRILLO. When Castro saw all these ways open, he became emotional and dispersed himself all through the Oriente Province, burning buses, public schools, and the sugar industry.

Senator DODD. I did not understand. Is General Cantillo in prison now?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Senator DODD. He was imprisoned by Castro; is that it?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, Castro accused him of betrayal.

Senator DODD. Do you mean after Castro took over? I suppose you mean—betrayal of what—Castro or somebody else? Did he become a Castro follower? That is what I want to find out.

Colonel CARRILLO. No, he was not a Castro follower before January 1, 1959. After January 1, 1959, General Cantillo sided with Castro.

Senator DODD. He did side with him, after January 1, 1959?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Senator DODD. Very well.

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, he sided with Castro after January 1, 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying that Cantillo joined Castro?

Senator DODD. After January 1, 1959.

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Senator DODD. He did. I take it then from this answer you mean he went over to Castro after January 1, 1959. And was it later that Castro charged him with betrayal, and if so, how much later?

Colonel CARRILLO. Castro imprisoned Cantillo, according to his own story.

Senator DODD. How long after January 1, 1959, was he imprisoned? Just tell us that very simple thing.

Colonel CARRILLO. I do not remember, but it was the early part of January 1959.

Senator DODD. We will suspend until tomorrow at 10:30.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, before you recess, I would like to say for the record that we now have word of Father O'Farril. He has been located. He will be here tomorrow.

(Whereupon, at 4:20 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene tomorrow, Wednesday, May 4, 1960, at 10:30 a.m.)



# COMMUNIST THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 1960

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 11:35 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, Senator Kenneth B. Keating, presiding.

Present: Senators Keating and Dodd.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and Frank W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator KEATING. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, we have a new interpreter this morning, Mr. Romero-Saavedra. You might wish to swear the interpreter in.

Senator KEATING. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that you will correctly translate and interpret the testimony given here this morning in this proceeding?

Mr. ROMERO-SAAVEDRA. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Col. Ugalde Carrillo was on the stand. Would you return, please?

With the Chair's permission, so that there may be no misunderstanding about the procedure, I should like to ask the interpreter to make an explanation to the witness.

You may sit down, sir.

## TESTIMONY OF COL. MANUEL ANTONIO UGALDE CARRILLO— Resumed

The INTERPRETER. I have explained the procedure to the witness.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have explained to the witness, have you not, Mr. Interpreter, that you will translate to him precisely the questions which are asked by the committee; that you will translate to the committee precisely the words he uses; that if he asks you a question, you will translate the question instead of answering it; and that you are not going to ask him any questions of your own? There will be no colloquy between you and the witness. You are only a conduit to transmit information from the committee to him and from him to the committee.

The INTERPRETER. That I have explained.

Mr. SOURWINE. That has been explained.

Colonel, you testified yesterday that you were thoroughly familiar with the records of military intelligence in Cuba during the period that you were chief of military intelligence, 1952 to 1954. Is that correct?

Senator KEATING. Will the photographer please give his attention? Will he kindly refrain from taking pictures, any other pictures, during this proceeding. Some of the witnesses are here under some sacrifice to themselves. They have relatives in Cuba and we ask that no further pictures be taken during the proceeding.

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes. I was chief of the intelligence service.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it true that you have given us in executive session the names of a number of persons who were identified as Communists in the official files of Cuban military intelligence during the period 1952 to 1954?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly. I had, in the official military records of Cuba, the names. And these records were transferred later to the organization whose name is BRAC, Bureau of Repression of Communist Activities, which records, I understand by the Cuban press, were later destroyed by the Cuban Government, and Captain Castano, who was chief of that section in 1959, was murdered.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, because all communications must pass through the interpreter both ways, I shall, with the permission of the Chair, ask leading questions. It will save time.

Would you explain, please, to the witness that I am going to ask him leading questions covering some of the testimony he has given in executive session. That is, I will ask him questions which he can answer very briefly with a "Yes" or a "No."

Colonel CARRILLO. I wanted to explain to Your Excellency at this time that I believe that some of my answers which I gave to you yesterday were not properly transmitted to you and I would want to go over them.

Mr. SOURWINE. With the Chair's permission, I would respectfully suggest that an opportunity be offered the witness, with the aid of the interpreter, to go over the record of yesterday and to correct it. That would save the time of attempting to go back today.

There was difficulty with the interpreter yesterday.

Senator KEATING. We, of course, want the record accurate. That will be done.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell the witness, please, he will have the opportunity to correct that record. You will be there to assist him.

Now, is it not true that you gave us a large number of names of persons whom the records of Cuban military intelligence and BRAC showed to have been members of the Communist Party?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, I will ask you about certain names and I want to know as I name each individual if you now remember that this was a person listed in the files as a Communist and whose name you gave to the committee.

Colonel CARRILLO. That is perfectly all right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Dr. Raul Roa?

Colonel CARRILLO. He is founder of the Communist Party in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Presently Minister of State in Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Raul Castro?

Colonel CARRILLO. Delegate and leader of the Communist Youth which was behind the Communist curtain.

Mr. SOURWINE. Antonio Nunez Jimenez?

Colonel CARRILLO. One of the few clear brains in the Cuban communism.

Mr. SOURWINE. Senorita Pastoria—

Senator KEATING. And presently what is Jimenez in the Government?

Colonel CARRILLO. Nunez Jimenez?

Senator KEATING. Yes.

Colonel CARRILLO. Nico Jimenez, who is very well known in the popular masses, is at this time chief of the INRA, of the executive committee of INRA.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the National Institute of Agrarian Reform?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Senator KEATING. Now, will you identify the present position of Raul Castro?

Colonel CARRILLO. A new ministry of war has been created where all the services use arms. I cannot give the name for the whole unit because in Cuba there is no armed forces, technically speaking, which is known as a professional armed unit.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, speaking generally, Raul Castro is chief of military defense for Cuba, is he not?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Senorita Pastoria Nunez?

Colonel CARRILLO. Senorita Pastoria, better known as Pastorita, is a militant Communist since the founding of the party in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. She is presently in charge of the national lottery?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Armando Hart?

Colonel CARRILLO. Leader of the Communist Youth in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Presently Minister of Education?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly. Minister of Education in Cuba and chief of a commission of a study of a reform of the schooling in Cuba where subjects have been introduced to explain the doctrine of communism in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. David Salvador?

Colonel CARRILLO. Leader of the labor movement, founder of the Communist Party in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Vilma Espin?

Colonel CARRILLO. Presently married to Raul Castro, which romance started behind the Iron Curtain when both of them attended as delegates of the Cuban Youth Delegation. She is also a founder of the Cuban Communist Youth, feminine section.

Mr. SOURWINE. Haydee Santamaria?

Colonel CARRILLO. Also a leader in the feminine section of the Youth Movement of the Communist Party. Also participated in the pact to the Fortress of Moncada in 1953.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is she married to a prominent Cuban?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly. I don't remember his name at this moment. I know who he is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Celia Sanchez?

Colonel CARRILLO. Also a leader within the feminine section of the University of Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. You gave us other names I will not ask about at this time.

You told us in executive session of at least 15 Russians and approximately 1,000 Chinese technicians who had come into Cuba and whom you said you believed to be Communists. Will you tell us about this in a little more detail for this record? I want some detail about these technicians, how you know they are there, what they do.

Colonel CARRILLO. The technicians coming from Communist China are natives of China. They have been secretly changed as the persons of the Chinese section of colony of Cuba. I want to explain this at this time because this information came to me directly from the Chinese colony in Cuba, not from the members of the Chinese colony, but from Cubans who are friends of the Chinese colony members.

A Chinese disappears. In his place, with his documents, another Chinese appears. That Chinese has been murdered and another Chinese appears, which Chinese was brought from China.

Senator KEATING. Wait a minute. How do you know that the first Chinese is murdered?

Colonel CARRILLO. I do not know myself. I explained before that friends of mine who are Cubans, not members of the Chinese colony, gave me this information.

Senator KEATING. The information came from Cubans, Cuban friends of yours, and was transmitted to them by members of the Chinese colony. Is that right?

Colonel CARRILLO. That is right. Very secretly, but horrified. They say that more than 1,000 Chinese have disappeared. This I can explain to you with an anecdote from a police officer from the street of the Chinese colony.

A police officer comes to a group of Chinese playing games which are prohibited in the Chinese colony. He brings the group of 10 and takes them to the police headquarters.

On his way he loses four Chinese but as he goes by the Chinese colony, he tells other four Chinese, you get into the ranks, and he reaches the police office with 10 Chinese.

Senator KEATING. Does someone see that happening?

Colonel CARRILLO. Personally a Cuban citizen that saw me here in the United States, and he returned to Cuba, he swore to me by his honor and he asked me what could be done for those citizens which are honorable and the only crime they have committed in Cuba is to help that which they believe is good for their country, General Chiang Kai-shek of the island of Formosa.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of a Russian military advisory group in Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. I do not understand the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. You told us in executive session about a group of Russian officers housed on Medio-Dia Avenue. I want to know about this for the record.

Colonel CARRILLO. At the beginning of January of 1959, there started to arrive military assessors [inspectors] sent by Russia and Communist China to assess the Cuban army that was going to be formed again, in substitution to the American military missions which were then in Cuba.

It is known that those American military missions withdrew, and while they are kept secret—as it is natural that they always do in the Communist countries—the names of these technicians, they do exist.

They live in a house which is behind the military camp of Columbia, known as the—in front of the Rotonda of Medio-Dia. That is a name, a personal name. From this point they always come out in helicopters to the building which was occupied by the general staff in the military camp.

Mr. SOURWINE. And how many of them are there? How many of these Russians and Chinese are there?

Colonel CARRILLO. In the military mission?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Colonel CARRILLO. I was informed that at the beginning there arrived 7 military, but a superior committee of civilians, about 24 technicians in the month of January. Later, more of them have come.

Senator KEATING. January, 1960 or 1959?

Colonel CARRILLO. In January of 1959.

At this time that mission is all over the island, and principally there are now up to last Saturday in a hotel in Santa Clara in the center of the island four technicians, military engineers of an aspect of a North American, blonde, green eyes, speaking perfect Spanish, and they were identified with a delegate of the INRA, and they took a jeep to Cienega de Zapata.

My informer took down the names perfectly of these Russians so that he could send it to me, but he could not get out of the hotel. He could only send a woman, and I don't know what happened to her.

Senator KEATING. These four are Russians, are they?

Colonel CARRILLO. Perfectly. They have been identified as Russians, white.

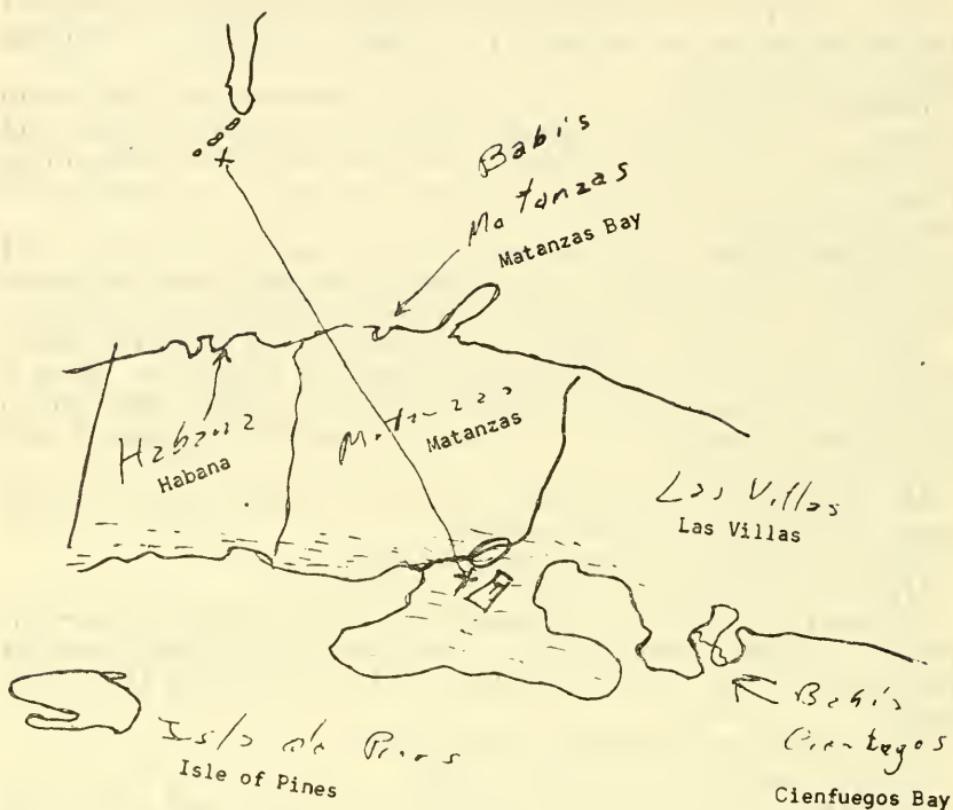
Senator KEATING. Who is this fellow with the green eyes that looks like a North American?

Colonel CARRILLO. The commentary—I make it because the delegate of the INRA, when he talks to him, he tells him that he appears—looks like an American. He told him that he had been born in Ukraine, that he had lived quite many years in Spain before returning back to his country.

Senator KEATING. I want to show you a drawing.

Colonel CARRILLO. May I add this: that this man seemed to be about 50 years old.

Senator KEATING. I want to show you a drawing (map A, p. 378) which you gave us. Will you tell us what that indicates and all about it?



MAP A

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly. The hotel that I have been talking about at this moment is exactly to the north a few miles from where this X appears at Cienega de Zapata.

Senator KEATING. Proceed.

Colonel CARRILLO. Giving information in regard to this drawing?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. This is the drawing which shows Cienega de Zapata, is it not?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Senator KEATING. Now, what do you know about what is going on at that place?

Colonel CARRILLO. The Government of Cuba have spent quite a large sum of money in the Cienega de Zapata to make studies to see if it can be utilized, but all the plans have been discarded because of the high cost of the production in this zone.

At present, although there are virgin grounds for production, plantation for rice, et cetera, they are taking the Cienega de Zapata to convert it into a cultivation ground.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember telling us in executive session—

Senator KEATING. Do you remember anything further that you told us in executive session regarding this drawing?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly. Can I go slowly, in order that I may explain to you more in detail?

Senator KEATING. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Please tell the witness we understand completely everything he has said so far. We simply want to know if he recalls having told us anything else other than what he has said now about the area shown in this map.

Senator KEATING. I want to add to that. If he has further information since he testified before us in executive session which throws doubt on the testimony which he then gave, we do not want it brought out here; but if what he said to us in executive session about this area is still true, then we want him to tell us about it.

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly. The new information that I have corroborates—reaffirms the information I previously have given you which caused me to draw this sketch. It is confirmed—all the items.

Senator KEATING. All right. Then you may proceed.

Colonel CARRILLO. Everything?

Senator KEATING. Everything that you told us in executive session which you still—which you say has been confirmed by later information.

Colonel CARRILLO. It is confirmed a construction of an airplane landing strip in the center of Cienega de Zapata, with highways at high cost, the destruction of a country base at a cost of \$1 million because the technical engineer about whom I was speaking previously, the Russian, which belongs to the Technical Commission of the INRA, estimated that this country base was not constructed strongly enough for the project which they contemplated.

I did not know that a grain of rice weighed so much. The truth is that there are in construction, secretly, bases which will be used by the union of Communist countries to attack the American democracy.

Senator KEATING. What kind of bases?

Colonel CARRILLO. I have not been able to obtain information from military technicians from our dissolved regular army, but from peasants and laborers which are not Communist and who are working in this Cienega.

Senator KEATING. You spoke of them as bases, and I would like to know what you mean by bases. Bases for what?

Colonel CARRILLO. I sent a message to these people so that they would see sketches which appeared in the Sunday photographic section of the Diario de la Marina and their low knowledge—little knowledge—that these laborers have; they explained that those matters did not exist there, but they saw blocks of concrete being made that could resist [support] those military machines that appear in those pictures that I sent.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was in the picture?

Colonel CARRILLO. The installations secretly that the Russians, through their technicians, pressmen in the Orient, that they sent to Cuba, and they were published in the Diario de la Marina.

I had that photograph but I left it in Miami. I can get a copy of it and send it to you.

Senator KEATING. Well, are they planning—is the construction there something from which airplanes will take off? Is that what you mean?

Colonel CARRILLO. It is so wide and so long that any type of airplane of jet propulsion can take off easily, inasmuch as they estimate it to be more than 20 kilometers in length; and at its widest place it is over

200 meters, which is easily observed from the air because it is a great contrast with the solitude of that place.

Senator KEATING. Do you remember anything else which you told us at executive session which is still—that you believe to be still accurate regarding this Cienega de Zapata?

Colonel CARRILLO. I don't remember anything more, other than that to the south of the island of Cienega de Zapata is the Isle of Pines.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to be sure that I understand you correctly with regard to the size of the concrete area. Are you describing a flat area of poured concrete 20 kilometers long and 200 meters wide?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly. That is what was told to the laborers that worked there; they were puzzled.

Senator KEATING. Well, that applies to this committee.

Colonel CARRILLO. Not to me, because I have lived within the Communist monster, for a few times in the mountains, and I know what they can do.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is almost a superhighway? Eighteen miles of highway?

Colonel CARRILLO. That is the justification for it, that it is a highway to cultivate rice.

Senator DODD (now presiding). How do you cultivate rice on a highway?

Colonel CARRILLO. This is what I am trying to investigate, myself. It is supposed to be a highway for the vehicles to go to the place at the Cienega [swamp], where they will cultivate the rice.

At the present time, all that they have done is small houses where they will inaugurate—or I don't know whether it has been inaugurated—the tourist center, most beautiful of the world—in accordance with the photo which appeared in the magazine, *La Bohemia*—

Mr. SOURWINE. You say a tourist center?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Down in this part of Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is swampland, isn't it?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Many, many mosquitoes?

Colonel CARRILLO. No, because the *jejenes* eat them.

Senator KEATING. Are there any structures there beside the highway?

Colonel CARRILLO. No. There are none, other than the small houses which are supposed to be the tourist center, and they talk about cultivating rice.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have information respecting infiltration of the present Cuban Army by Communists?

Colonel CARRILLO. No. In the present Cuban Army there is no Communist infiltration, because it is a Communist Army. You could talk about infiltration of the democracy into that army and I think we are offending the armies of the democracies by talking about an army of Cuba when the inmates of the jails because of drugs, murderers, and robbers, they are the majority of the officers of that army.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have information respecting the teaching of guerrilla warfare in Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us briefly what you know about that.

Colonel CARRILLO. Since Fidel Castro and his group arrived to the Sierra Maestra, each of those which remain alive or were not captured during the landing, they formed themselves as trainers of the peasants or whatever other people united to its group to give military instruction and within that instruction one of the subjects was Communist theories, many of which pamphlets in military and political fields where it was shown that it was a Communist—they were sent to the President, Batista, so that he would let it be known to the democratic world and especially to the Government of the United States.

At the present time those military pamphlets are being used to give training to the present members and militiamen that form a part of his army. One of these pamphlets is translated by the named commander, "Che" Guevara, of Argentine nationality.

Another pamphlet of this kind is signed by a man who calls himself General Bayo, a Spanish Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you referring to Gen. Alberto Bayo?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any information respecting any activities of the Chinese in helping to teach guerrilla tactics to Cubans?

Colonel CARRILLO. No; I don't. I do have knowledge that they were used to be infiltrated, but I don't want to use that word. I will use that word when the democracy can infiltrate into the Communist government of Cuba. They are assigned to INRA to teach how to cultivate rice and give more production to the earth. There are some very few, nationals of Chile, in the air arm of that army.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, do you remember telling us of Communist indoctrination schools for the army located at Camp Columbia, Mariana?

Colonel CARRILLO. Columbia, Mariana. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any further information about this?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes; I do. This training has continued, but decreasing in the military aspect in the number of men because they have been transferred to other places, and they have increased the number of children which go to that camp to receive instructions, turning it into a school center surrounded by bayonets and of hate in the heart of those children at the age of 8 until the age of 18.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying that Camp Columbia is now being used as an indoctrination school for youth groups, ages 8 to 18, where they are taught communism?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have information respecting Prensa Latina?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you know about that organization?

Colonel CARRILLO. We—and when I say "we" I refer to the services of investigation of Cuba—there was proof that Prensa Latina, that it is nothing more than an intelligence service of the Communist armies, of Communist China.

Senator KEATING. Does it have any affiliation with Tass?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you say the investigating agencies of Cuba had this information?

Colonel CARRILLO. I did not hear your question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you say the investigative agencies of Cuba had this information?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. What investigative agencies? Do you mean the agencies which now exist or the agencies which existed before Castro took over?

Colonel CARRILLO. I mean the ones before.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, when was Prensa Latina formed? When was it created?

Colonel CARRILLO. You mean when it first started to operate in Cuba?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Colonel CARRILLO. I don't know exactly. When I was chief of the Military Service of Cuba; I don't remember exactly. Later, when I was talking to chiefs about this, about the BRAC, they told me about this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, it is possible that committee counsel is misinformed. I had had the idea that Prensa Latina was formed much more recently than this. Are we talking about the same thing? When you say Prensa Latina, what do you mean?

Colonel CARRILLO. We are talking about the news agency, Prensa Latina, which is the part of the Tass agency. But persons will testify before this committee about information which they do have about this Prensa Latina.

Senator Dodd. I think this is a good time to recess. We will do so until 2:15.

(Thereupon, the hearing was recessed at 12:45 to reconvene at 2:15 p.m.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:55 p.m., pursuant to recess.)

Senator KEATING. The subcommittee will come to order.

Colonel, will you resume the stand?

#### TESTIMONY OF COL. MANUEL ANTONIO UGALDE CARRILLO— Resumed

Senator KEATING. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, at the recess we were discussing, or had begun to discuss, Prensa Latina. It seems to counsel that there may be some misunderstanding between the witness and the committee in the use of this term "Prensa Latina," inasmuch as the Prensa Latina, about which counsel asked, is an organization which, so far as we know, was formed in June of 1959.

The witness was testifying about a Prensa Latina with respect to which he had knowledge in the early 1950's. I have taken the liberty of asking Mr. Mandel, our director of research, to assemble from our files some available material about Prensa Latina. With the Chair's permission, I would like to put that in the record so the record may show what we are talking about and then ask the witness to explain what he was talking about.

May that be done?

Senator KEATING. What is the source of this information?

Mr. MANDEL. First of all, Editor and Publisher for November 28, 1959, page 46, has an article entitled "Castro's News Service Hews Closely to Line."

Senator KEATING. All right. What else?

Mr. MANDEL. The Editor and Publisher of December 12—

Senator KEATING. Are all of these from Editor and Publisher?

Mr. MANDEL. No.

Senator KEATING. Are they news items?

Mr. MANDEL. No. The second is Editor and Publisher of December 12, 1959, page 73, an answer from Prensa Latina giving their side of the question and U.S. News & World Report, May 2, 1960, pages 72 and 74, on "How Castro Pushes 'Hate U.S.' All Over Latin America."

And then two memorandums in the hands of the committee, one dated October 15, 1959, the other one April 14, 1960, which are factual.

Senator KEATING. Well, those latter two memorandums, you say they are factual. If you can state on the record the source, please do so. If you cannot, we will advise the chairman—

Mr. SOURWINE. It is my understanding, Mr. Chairman—I will ask Mr. Mandel if it is not correct—that this memorandum which I hold, which is designated "Background Memo," dated October 15, 1959, is a memorandum prepared by a responsible agency of the Government of the United States as of that date.

Senator KEATING. As of what date?

Mr. SOURWINE. October 15, 1959.

Senator KEATING. An agency of the Government?

Mr. SOURWINE. Of the United States.

Senator KEATING. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. The second memorandum is, if I understand it correctly, a memorandum prepared by the research staff of the committee from all available sources.

Senator KEATING. We will receive them.

(The documents referred to are identified as exhibits Nos. 2-6 and read as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 2

[Editor and Publisher, Nov. 28, 1959, p. 46]

#### CASTRO'S NEWS SERVICE HEWS CLOSELY TO LINE

HAVANA.—Like Argentina's former dictator, Juan Peron, Cuba's strongman Fidel Castro has set up his own "news" service. Castro's device is called Prensa Latina, although, contrary to what some newsmen aver, it is not written in pig Latin.

Almost from the day he came to power early this year, Castro has been attacking U.S. wire services, publications, and newsmen. (Revolucion) has referred to Associated Press as "agency of deformation."

Prensa Latina was officially founded in mid-April, with Jorge Ricardo Masetti, a 29-year-old Argentine newspaperman, as its head. Mr. Masetti came to Cuba last year to cover the civil war for an Argentine radio station. He trekked to the Sierra Maestra, interviewed Castro and returned to Argentina to write a book about the Castro movement, "Those Who Fight and Those Who Cry." He came back to Cuba when Castro overthrew the Batista regime.

## A PRIVATE COMPANY

When PL was set up, it issued a press release saying: "Prensa Latina is a private company, created by the efforts, the resources, and the faith of a group of men of goodwill from various Latin American countries. \* \* \* We will avoid everything that signifies political propaganda."

Mr. Masetti claims that his agency is independent of the Castro regime, but facts indicate otherwise. Prensa Latina was permitted to bring its equipment into Cuba duty free. Prensa Latina does not run anything that is not in accord with the Fidelista line. When Air Force Chief Pedro Luis Diaz Laniz deserted the Castro army, PL waited hours to release the news, delaying until the government devised the official line.

Recently there was a one-hour work stoppage in Cuba, aimed at showing support for Castro. Prensa Latina joined, taking an hour off.

Prensa Latina has correspondents in more than a dozen Latin American cities, as well as Washington. It hopes eventually to branch out to Europe and Asia.

## ITS COST

These plans may be delayed, however. The Cuban government has financial troubles, and Castro probably did not bother to figure out what operation of a news agency would cost—particularly since it provides most of its "news" free of charge. One unconfirmed estimate is that the service is costing the government some \$6,000,000 annually.

Lately PL has appeared less interested in competing with AP and UPI on spot news coverage, and more interested in spreading the Castro line. This is done by two methods: (1) Carrying stories in accord with official Cuban policies (anti-American riots in Panama; unrest in the Dominican Republic), and (2) carrying statements by lesser Latin American figures praising Castro.

Most Havana dailies, mainly serviced by AP and UPI, do lipservice by running a token amount of PL stories daily. Lately there has been an ominous trend, however, with Revolucion attacking other dailies for running AP or UPI stories considered unfriendly to Castro. Presumably, to be safe, the papers are expected to run only PL material.

Nevertheless, PL has readymade clients in Havana. Of Havana's 14 dailies, the Castro regime controls five (including Revolucion), and all of these use PL's services extensively, as does the Communist daily Hoy. It is often difficult to tell the difference between the PL line, the Fidelista line, and the Communist line.

## COMMUNISTS NOT IDENTIFIED

An abnormally large number of PL stories quote persons known to be Communists or Communist sympathizers, without so identifying them, according to Stanley Ross, editor of *El Diario de Nueva York*, Spanish-language daily published in New York. He has watched the file for months.

Gossip has it that the real power in the operation of the service is exerted by Dr. Ernesto "Che" Guevara, an Argentine medical doctor, who was with the Guatemalan government during the Communist regime and who is believed now to have power ranking right after Fidel Castro and his brother, Raul. He has been made a Cuban citizen.

The PL service in the United States is headed by Angel Boan, a Cuban, with headquarters in Washington. The New York office, with seven on the staff to cover the city and the United Nations, has as its chief, Francisco Portela, a Cuban who was never identified with political groups in Cuba and who for 20 years was managing editor of *La Prensa*, Spanish-language daily published in New York.

It is known that PL asked one newspaper \$750 a month for the service and then cut the price down to \$200 when the newspaper refused to pay the higher price, but is still supplying it with the daily reports on a free trial basis.

## NEWS PROCESSED

News originating in New York or Washington is not distributed directly to client newspapers. It goes to the Havana headquarters for editing or censoring and then comes back to New York. Some of it does not come back.

Example: On Nov. 10 leaders of the anti-Castro White Rose movement held a press conference at the New York Advertising Club and announced that Dr.

Domingo Gomez Gimeranez, Cuban scientist, a researcher at Columbia University, will be its candidate for a Cuban provisional government if Castro is overthrown.

The story was played big with stories and pictures in New York. It is known that PL correspondents sent the story to Havana, but not a word of it came back to newspapers in the PL file.

#### SPORTS COVERAGE

Mr. Ross said sports coverage by the service is particularly good, especially from Cuba and Puerto Rico. *El Diario* uses baseball and other sports stories extensively. Little of the remainder of the news report is used.

The news report for one day was examined. It contained these stories:

One from San Salvador about the welcoming of a foreign novelist at a university, without mention of his Communist record.

One from Prague saying that Czechoslovakia wants to help underdeveloped countries of the world, without mention of the Communist regime.

One from East Germany presenting the Soviet regime in good light.

One from Mexico warning the government that anti-Castro men arriving there are not refugees but "bandits and killers."

One from Mexico quoting a foreigner, known to be a fellow traveler for years, as having three heroes in Latin America—naming Fidel Castro and two men known to be Communists, without so designating them.

Mr. Ross said the news service often quotes the Chinese News Agency of Communist China, which has opened an office in Havana. Many stories he said, boast Japanese goods as cheaper than U.S. goods and increasing Japanese sales in Cuba often are reported. He added that almost every story contains at least one attacking the use of atomic weapons. [sic]

Incidentally, *El Diario de Nueva York* supported Castro vigorously during the revolution. Upon the invitation of the Castro regime, Editor Ross went to Havana last January and stayed five days. He did not like what he saw developing in the new government and *El Diario* became critical of Castro.

#### TOO HOSTILE TO UNITED STATES

Francisco Jose Cardona, editor of *La Prensa*, Spanish-language daily newspaper published in New York, said his paper discontinued the *Prensa Latina* service two weeks ago for economic reasons.

"I would not say that *Prensa Latina* played up pro-Communist news but it carried news from all over Latin America that was hostile to the United States," said Mr. Cardona. "For that reason we had to be careful what items we used during the last three weeks we had the service."

Jules Dubois, the Chicago Tribune correspondent who is persona non grata in Cuba, has reported that PL's correspondents are mostly Communists and fellow travelers. One of the agency's executives, Baldomero Alvarez-Rios, recently was a delegate to the Communist-dominated Youth Festival in Vienna and then visited Moscow, Peiping, and other Iron Curtain capitals.

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#### EXHIBIT NO. 3

[Editor and Publisher, Dec. 12, 1959, p. 73]

#### PRENSA LATINA DENIES IT'S CASTRO OWNED

*Prensa Latina*, the new news service for Latin American newspapers, with headquarters in Havana, is not connected with or financed by the Castro regime in Cuba and it does not play up pro-Communist news or personalities, according to Jorge Ricardo Masetti, director-general of PL.

Mr. Masetti, an Argentine newspaperman, prepared a statement in reply to a news story in *EDITOR & PUBLISHER* (Nov. 28, page 46). Before the story was published, Mr. Masetti was asked for a statement to be published as part of the story. The request was sent by airmail Nov. 13. His brief, one-page letter in reply, denying that PL is financed by Cuba or that its news file favors Communism, was received too late for inclusion in the November 28 story.

After the publication of the E&P story, Mr. Masetti sent this more complete reply, dated November 30:

## NOT ACCURATE

"1. Your news story seems to be composed of two parts. The first one is an undisguised repetition of a former story published in *Time* (July 27). Even the same wording is used. I think you should have quoted your source of your information, which is far from accurate.

"2. The second part of your story seems to have been rigged by editor Stanley Ross. We do not think Stanley Ross is a qualified witness. He was expelled from the Inter-American Press Association in October 1956, on the charge of being associated with Trujillo. Further, he has been a New York correspondent for the late Agencia Latina, owned by former Argentine President Juan Peron.

"3. You seem to take it for granted that PL is financed by the Cuban government. You cannot prove it (and you cannot prove it because it is not true).

"4. Your 'unconfirmed estimate' of what PL is costing (not the Cuban government, but the shareholders) is very flattering. You would not believe it, but the actual cost is five times less. Your estimate will be used as an argument before the shareholders. \* \* \*

## CURIOUS METHOD

"5. Mr. Ross' method of 'watching our files' is very curious. We are releasing from 160 to 200 stories daily. Among them, you could conceivably find—as Mr. Ross does—five which seem favorable to the Communists. You could also find them in the AP or UPI service. You could even find them in EDITOR & PUBLISHER.

"6. Of course we do not identify anyone as a Communist, unless he is acting as a member of the Communist Party. We do not identify Marilyn Monroe as a Republican or a Democrat, because we do not know in which case she might feel insulted. We prefer the old-fashioned method of identifying people by their names. \* \* \* The practice of labeling as a Communist or 'fellow-traveller' anyone who does not admit being one thing or the other, is equivalent to what your own Code of Ethics terms 'expression of opinion.'

"I think Mr. Ross (and by the way, EDITOR & PUBLISHER) should reread Canon V, which deals with 'Impartiality': 'Sound practice makes clear distinction between news reports and expressions of opinion. News reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind.'

## ALMOST TRUE

"7. According to your story '(PL) news originating in New York or Washington is not distributed directly to client papers. It goes to Havana headquarters for editing or censoring and then comes back to New York. Some of it does not come back.'

"Sure, this is almost true. But suppose we replace that statement by this one:

"'AP or UPI news originating in Havana (or Buenos Aires or Rio, or any other part of the world) is not distributed directly to client papers. It goes to New York or San Francisco headquarters for editing or censoring and then comes back to Havana. Some of it does not come back.'

"So what? Barring 'censorship,' which is not a PL practice, this is the normal procedure in all existing news services.

## UTTERLY RIDICULOUS

"8. The Gomez Gimeranez story is utterly ridiculous. If Mr. Stanley Ross really has been 'watching our files,' he should know that we are not sending back to New York any story originated in New York, as we are not sending back to Santiago de Chile or Caracas stories originating in Santiago or Caracas. The local newsmen are supposed to cover the local stories. This also is normal procedure. Even if we wanted to distribute Argentine news (for instance) in Buenos Aires, we wouldn't be able to do it; it is forbidden by law. For the same reasons we are not distributing Cuban news in Cuba. But if there is any doubt left, you can ask AP or UPI. They know all about it.

"9. Your article implies that we are Communists. We are not. Let me add that if we are Communists, our Communism is a very strange one. For instance, our first columnist is a French Catholic writer, Nobel Prize winner, called Francois Mauriac. Our advisor in North African affairs is a Catholic

priest, Father Alfred Berenguer. Our coverage of the Catholic Congress recently held in Cuba is as wide as anyone.

"In conclusion, let me say that your whole story can be torn to pieces, word by word. It is a shame to your tradition of seriousness and objectivity. It gives proof to those who hold that a great part of the American press systematically thwarts and distorts Latin American facts."

#### EXHIBIT No. 4

[U.S. News & World Report, May 2, 1960]

#### HOW CASTRO PUSHES "HATE U.S." ALL OVER LATIN AMERICA

It's a Red-patterned, well-organized "hate U.S." campaign that Castro is conducting among U.S. neighbors to the south.

Chief vehicle: A "news" service to peddle the Castro line.

Investigation by "U.S. News & World Report" shows the scope of the operation, spreading throughout Latin America.

Reported from Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Buenos Aires

Fidel Castro's Government is waging the most ambitious campaign ever undertaken to turn all of Latin America against the United States.

It is a campaign that employs the Communist tactics of propaganda, intrigue, and subversion, and it is making converts in a group of countries that traditionally have been friendly to the U.S.

In this pro-Communist, anti-U.S. offensive, Castro is employing these principal weapons:

A "news" service, complete with bureaus, radio teletypewriters, and a farflung corps of correspondents.

A radio network that utilizes 18 stations outside of Cuba.

A flood of anti-American pamphlets and "news" releases distributed by Cuban diplomats and Castro's labor federation.

Conspiracies by Castro's diplomats and secret agents, designed to stir up trouble for the U.S. and, in some cases, to overturn governments friendly to Washington.

*Editing the "news."*—Spearhead of this offensive is Castro's "news" service, Agencia Prensa Latina—usually called Prensa Latina. Castro, irritated by the way U.S. news agencies reported his activities, discussed the problem a year ago with his chief "brain trust," Argentine-born Maj. Ernesto (Ché) Guevara, and it was decided to establish an "independent" news service.

An Argentine friend of Guevara's, Jorge Ricardo Masetti, was hired to set up the operation. He was given an initial drawing account of \$325,000. Today, Prensa Latina is in the "news" business in a big way.

Nerve center of Prensa Latina is its Havana headquarters, which occupies an entire floor in the skyscraper Edificio Médico, or Medical Building. Here, dispatches radioed and cabled in by Prensa Latina's dozen bureaus and network of correspondents are screened and edited to bring out angles favorable to Castro and Communism and unfavorable to the U.S.

Some stories are picked up from Cuban newspapers—which, with three exceptions, are pro-Castro. Items received from the Soviet Tass and other Communist agencies are translated into Spanish and Portuguese by a special section of 12 linguists.

All these items are blended into a "news" report that reads much like the line dispensed by Tass. It is sent by radio teletypewriters to Prensa Latina's bureaus for distribution to some 60 newspapers and a number of radio stations in Latin America.

*Portrait of U.S.*—On a typical day, this "news" report contains stories under headings such as these: "Student leaders of Latin America visit Red China"; "Mexico criticizes U.S. policy on corn exports"; "Youth problems in New York"; "How Soviet Russia brings prosperity to East Germany"; "Brazilian state government criticizes contract with American power company"; "Land reform in Cuba"; "Castro proclaims press freedom in Cuba"; "Poland wants to help underdeveloped countries of Latin America"; "Panama plans new moves against U.S. imperialism"; "Hungary boosts output of consumer goods."

When Senator John F. Kennedy, campaigning for the U.S. presidential nomination, declared recently that 17 million North Americans go to bed hungry every night, *Prensa Latina* grabbed the item, and it got quite a play in Latin America. "Revolución," Castro's semiofficial mouthpiece in Havana, headlined the story: "The myth of prosperity in the United States."

For Communist, leftist, and ultranationalist editors, *Prensa Latina* is an invaluable aid. It provides them with ammunition to use in discrediting the U.S. while picturing the Castro-Communist tie-up as an ideal partnership for progress.

*The Red slant.*—Most of the members of *Prensa Latina*'s staff are old hands at spotting stories that can be given an anti-U.S. twist. Masetti had years of experience with a similar service financed by dictator Juan D. Perón of Argentina.

Many other members of the staff are fellow travelers or Communists. Still others are leftist-nationalists who favor neutralism.

Now, some of these nationalists are turning sour on *Prensa Latina*, for they find that what they expected to be a genuine news agency is merely a propaganda arm of the Cuban Government. In protest, Paul de Castro, a Brazilian, has resigned a responsible position with the agency.

De Castro, as head of the *Prensa Latina* bureau in Rio de Janeiro, became disillusioned with the organization and the kind of "news" it was handling. He became aware, also, that his office was being used as an espionage center.

"The directors of *Prensa Latina*," De Castro said, "are men of totalitarian backgrounds, regarding the U.S. with a blind hate due to the Peronist and Stalinist backgrounds they share. Cuba is their only concern, and Latin America is so only to the extent that it serves the interests of Cuba. Little by little, it became evident to me that this was a Cuban agency serving the Government itself."

"If one may judge by *Prensa Latina*," he added, "the Cuban revolution has taken a grave turn toward a police state, with tyranny and indifference to truth as its method and system."

*Who pays the bills?*—*Prensa Latina*'s operating expenses are estimated by news-service men to run from \$150,000 to \$200,000 a month, at a minimum. It is not clear where much of the money comes from. Revenue from the sale of the service is negligible, for most clients receive it free. The Cuban Government is believed to pick up \$60,000 of the tab each month. Some believe the rest of the money comes from a source behind the Iron Curtain.

*Prensa Latina* has its radio counterpart in a newly established network called Cadena Latinoamericana—Latin-American Chain. Key station of the chain is Radio Unión, in Havana, owned by the Cuban Confederation of Labor—CTC—and staffed principally by Communists and fellow travelers.

Radio Unión broadcasts each night by shortwave to two relay stations—one in Venezuela and one in Argentina. The programs are rebroadcast to 16 stations in Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, Costa Rica, and Guatemala. Billed as "news," the programs consist of propaganda. Among their listeners are millions of Latin Americans who do not read newspapers.

These broadcasts, now beamed only to Latin America, are soon to be extended. The Government in Havana has announced that a high-powered station, under construction in Cuba, will carry the Castro-Communist message, in several languages, to the whole world.

The CTC, besides lending Radio Unión to the Castro cause, is engaged in propaganda activities on its own account. Every month, it mails two violently anti-U.S. magazines—"Vanguardia" and "Noticiero Sindical de la CTC"—to a long list of editors and labor leaders in Latin America. It also distributes "news" releases and some of the many anti-U.S. pamphlets now being published in Havana.

*Embassies—and espionage.*—Cuban diplomats also are pushing Castro's anti-U.S., pro-Communist line throughout the world, with special attention to Latin America. Many of these are young firebrands without diplomatic experience who devote most of their time to distributing propaganda designed to show that the U.S. is the real enemy of Latin America.

Working closely with Communists and with Castro's secret agents, several Cuban diplomats have meddled in local affairs to the point where they have worn out their welcomes in their host countries. This was the case with Salvador Massip, Cuban Ambassador to Mexico.

Massip, a boon companion of the Soviet Ambassador, was suspected by Mexican officials of receiving instructions from him. The Cuban Embassy issued false passports to Soviet and Czech agents to facilitate their travels in Latin America,

Mexican sources said. A member of Massip's staff traveled secretly through Central America a few weeks ago, reportedly laying the groundwork for a series of revolutions intended to overturn governments friendly to the U.S. and replace them with governments oriented toward Havana and Moscow.

After finally falling into disfavor in Mexico, Massip was recalled and replaced by José A. Portuondo, described by anti-Castro newspapers as a Marxist.

Another ambassador who wore out his welcome was René Rayneri, in El Salvador. His pro-Communist activities were so flagrant that the Salvadoran Government asked for his recall. His successor is Francisco Pividal Padrón—a man whose pro-Communist meddling as Ambassador to Venezuela was so blatant that the Caracas Government declared him persona non grata.

In Guatemala, Ambassador Antonio Rodríguez narrowly avoided expulsion recently for similar activities. Neighboring Honduras expelled a Cuban diplomat, Víctor A. Mirabal Acebal, on February 16 for subversion and mixing into local politics.

In Colombia, Communists and other leftists staged an anti-U.S. demonstration on March 7 and distributed leaflets blaming the U.S. for the explosion of the French munitions ship *La Coubre* in Havana harbor a few days earlier. Colombians believe the Cuban Ambassador, Adolfo Rodríguez de la Vega, inspired the demonstrations and the leaflets.

In Uruguay, the Cuban Embassy and the Soviet Legation instigated an attempt by university students to disrupt President Eisenhower's ride through Montevideo early in March. Cuba's Ambassador to Panama, José A. Cabrera, is trying to make common cause with the Panamanians in their difficulties with the U.S. over the Canal Zone.

*Coming: more troublemaking.*—This is the pattern of propaganda, meddling, and subversion that Cuban diplomats are following in Latin America. Now, an increase in subversion is expected, as a result of the Havana Government's decision to assign a new officer, called a consular attaché, to each embassy. Each consular attaché, it is understood, will be an intelligence agent who will outrank the ambassador and will be well supplied with funds to finance subversion and agitation.

Castro's Government, thus, is going all-out to stir up trouble and turn the countries of Latin America against the United States.

#### EXHIBIT No. 5

BACKGROUND MEMO, DATED OCT. 15, 1959

AGENCIA PRENSA LATINA (PL)

Prensa Latina, a Latin American wire service formally launched at a ceremonial dinner in Havana on June 9, was founded in response to the dissatisfaction frequently expressed by Fidel Castro with the news carried by U.S. wire services concerning Cuba. Its administrative headquarters has ostensibly been established in Mexico City, and the president of the agency is Guillermo Castro Ulloa, a Mexican industrialist. Bureau headquarters, however, are in Havana under the supervision, as Director-General, of Jorge Ricardo Masetti, an Argentine and reportedly former chief of the old Agencia Latina de Noticias (ALN), a Peronista mouthpiece. The Havana office is said to have a staff of 60.

Prensa Latina stories are now appearing in the press and on the radio in Bogota, Buenos Aires, Caracas, Havana, La Paz, Lima, and Mexico City, and is reported to have agencies in Montevideo, Panama, Rio de Janeiro, San Jose, and Santiago. In the United States, La Prensa, of New York, and Diario de Nueva York are using PL stories.

PL maintains offices in New York, Washington, and Chicago, and plans to open offices in San Francisco and other U.S. cities. Leo Aragon and Angel Boan Acosta are in the Washington office.

It appears that the overwhelming majority of those publications utilizing the PL service are receiving that service on a free, trial basis. How long PL can maintain that free service is dependent on PL's money source, as yet unidentified. However, the manner in which PL operates would indicate that PL is not limited by a lack of funds.

Prensa Latina is reported to have signed an agreement with the Middle East News Agency and the New China News Agency, providing for an exchange of news.

Various Cuban leaders have expressed their support for PL. Revolucion, the 26th of July organ, has warmly welcomed PL and carries many PL stories. Raul Castro was quoted, when recently in Lima, as stating that "the only reports the Cuban people can believe are written by Prensa Latina—all else is false."

PL seems to have a proclivity for reporting anti-U.S. statements made by various student or political leaders throughout Latin America, statements which do not seem newsworthy enough for other wire services to carry. PL also seems to carry more news about agreements, sales, etc., between Latin American countries and the Soviet bloc than do other wire services.

Both Radio Moscow and the New China News Agency occasionally repeat PL stories, when those stories have an anti-U.S. twist. PL carries a large number of short news briefs.

Ruby Hart Phillips, in the New York Times of August 24, states that both foreign and Cuban newsmen in Havana complain of the extraordinary facilities being granted to PL, and that PL manages to get exclusive interviews and reports denied to other newsmen.

There is as yet no definite evidence regarding the financial connection between PL and the Cuban Government. There is no doubt, however, that PL is pro-Castro. PL has yet to carry any news which could be viewed as not sympathetic to the Cuban Government. There have, however, been only one or two stories favorable to the United States.

#### EXHIBIT No. 6

APRIL 14, 1960.

#### AGENCIA INFORMATIVA LATINOAMERICANA (PRENSA LATINA)

Prensa Latina (PL) was inaugurated in June 1959 as a wire service devoted primarily to coverage of Latin American news. It is reported that Fidel Castro, in an attempt to propagandize his revolution through means other than the U.S. news services, which he believes are very biased, provided \$800,000 financial backing to get the PL started. He is now subsidizing PL out of Government funds. The central administrative office is located in Mexico City (to give the impression that this is an independent news service), but the editorial offices are in Havana.

The Director General of PL, and the man who controls the editorial policies of the service, is Ricardo Masetti, an Argentine who was the former head of Peron's Agencia Latina, and a close friend of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, head of the Cuban National Bank. Heads of PL outside of Cuba include the following:

- a. Hermann Konche—Uruguayan—Prensa Latina representative in Rio de Janeiro. Konche is a close personal friend of Ricardo Masetti.
- b. Rogelio Garcia Lupo—heads the Prensa Latina office in Santiago de Chile—Argentine friend of Masetti.
- c. Plinio Apuleyo Mendoza—leftist liberal with commie connections—heads the Prensa Latina office in Bogota, Colombia.
- d. Carlos Enrique Aguirre—Argentine—head of Prensa Latina office in Montevideo.
- e. Oscar Edmundo Palma—a Communist attorney—heads the Prensa Latina office in Guatemala.
- f. Ernesto Giachetti—An Argentine—heads Prensa Latina in Lima.
- g. Efraim Rodriguez Venegas serves as Prensa Latina agent in San Jose. He is a former Nicaraguan citizen and is reputed to be a member of the Costa Rican Communist Party.

Prensa Latina maintains offices in the following cities, with stringers in many others: Washington, New York, Havana, Guatemala City, Mexico City, Buenos Aires, La Paz, Rio de Janeiro, and probably Sao Paulo, Santiago (Chile), Bogota, San Salvador, San Jose (Costa Rica), Lima, Montevideo, and Caracas. PL is also attempting to open offices in Europe and Asia.

Prensa Latina's coverage of Latin American news is far better than any other service, and the material reported is usually objective and factual. The news carried is not openly propagandistic in nature, nor does it reflect the trademark of the Communist line. However, PL's anti-American slant is shown by the selection of news rather than by editorializing or distorting. It generally

reports overt Communist activity in LA much like any other routine news and without an "anti" slant. Any news which is anti-Commie or Anti-CASTRO is either completely ignored or given very little coverage, whereas statements which are anti-American or pro-Communist receive widespread distribution. For example, a statement by a government official of a Latin American country which is pro-Soviet or anti-American is reported widely, and in such a way that it appears that such is the popular view of the Government in that country. U.S. military movements in the Caribbean are widely publicized, as in the case of the shore leave of Marines in the Dominican Republic, which was construed as a pro-Trujillo show of force.

Since the I'L news service is free to using newspapers, radio, and TV stations (except in Venezuela), many small papers and left-wing papers use PL material heavily. Up to now, the large newspapers use the service only occasionally, and then with reservation. However, since PL has no competitor in its coverage of Latin American events, the number of subscribers is growing rapidly.

For non-LA news PL has used the services of TASS and New China News Agency (which occupies the same building as PL in Havana), as well as the Czech news service CETEKA, with which it maintains teletype service. Radio Peking has used PL stories in its broadcasts. At a news agency conference held in Havana from 12-30 January, which was sponsored by Prensa Latina, representatives of the following bloc news services were in attendance and later signed bi-lateral pacts with PL: TASS, CETEKA, Hsin Hua (NCNA), Tanjuc of Yugoslavia, Polish Press Agency (PAP), and Agence Telegraphic Bulgare of Bulgaria. This conference stimulated many resignations from PL employees who could see the Communist orientation of PL.

**Mr. MANDEL.** And finally there is a clipping from the Daily Worker on Prensa Latina dated April 24, 1960, page 7.

**Senator KEATING.** It will be received also.

(The clipping was marked "Exhibit No. 7" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 7

[Worker, Apr. 24, 1960, p. 7]

Jorge Ricardo Masetti, head of "Prensa Latina", a wire service covering all news in Latin America, speaking to the students of the University of La Plata in Argentina, declared, when asked about Cuba :

"I ask you to think that while we are here speaking about this question, there is a Latin-American country that is being bombed every day; that every day this country is being subjected to the scientifically organized and disseminated lies of the news trust in the U.S.A.; a country which every day sees the plans to occupy its territory through violence and murder being surreptitiously developed."

**Mr. SOURWINE.** I might also call attention by reference to the testimony before this committee respecting Prensa Latina by General Cabell, the Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, on November 5, 1959.

I will read just one sentence from this memorandum :

Prensa Latina was organized with headquarters in Cuba in early 1959.

Now, I ask the witness, with the understanding that we are talking about and asked you about an organization which we are informed was founded in Cuba in June of 1959, how do you account for your answer that you knew of this organization in the early 1950's?

**Colonel CARRILLO.** I believe I was under a confusion when I tried to explain my knowledge about Prensa Latina and I should explain it now.

I know three matters about Prensa Latina. They are not too strong. They are poor. But other persons I believe will testify who will have better and more knowledge about this matter. But I know that during World War II, there was formed, in Argentina, Prensa Latina, which later disappeared.

During the year 1945 to the year 1950 there appeared in Cuba a pamphlet of information that was edited or formed by the party, the Socialist Communist Party of Cuba, and it had in small lettering as a title, "Information For," in large lettering, "Prensa Latina."

During that period the corps of investigation worked upon this matter. I did not participate at that time as an officer of an investigation unit, but simply as an army officer.

But in the records in the archives, when I reached it in 1952, I found this type of information by the way of pamphlets in the manner which I have described.

Now, in the year of 1959 it appears again the name of Prensa Latina in Cuba.

That is all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do I understand correctly that when you referred to Prensa Latina this morning as an organization formed auxiliary to Tass and connected with the Chinese News Service, you were referring to the earlier Prensa Latina about which you knew?

Colonel CARRILLO. I believe it is the same organization because in 1952 I found that these pamphlets were supposed to be secured [seized] because they gave information which was nothing more than Communist propaganda.

Senator KEATING. That was back before Castro came to power.

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Senator KEATING. In other words, what you are saying to this committee is that, in your judgment, Prensa Latina had a connection with Tass way back since 1952 on?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly. This type of Prensa Latina which we are talking of now is the same organization that appeared in the archives.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is your opinion.

Colonel CARRILLO. It is my opinion and based on what I read in the archives.

Senator KEATING. The archives of BRAC?

Colonel CARRILLO. They were transferred later to BRAC. At that time it was known as the Intelligence Service.

Senator KEATING. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think that clears up at least what the witness is talking about for the record.

Now, one more point to clear up. It has come to me that during the luncheon hour you expressed an opinion with respect to the use or intended use of the concrete installations about which you testified.

If this report is correct, and you have expressed privately an opinion about the use or intended use of this installation which you have not told the committee, I want you to tell us now what your opinion is with regard to this.

Senator KEATING. Just hold that question a minute.

Let us withdraw that question and let me ask another question preliminary to that.

Have you, since the recess, given information to members of the press or others with reference to your opinion regarding the use of this concrete strip about which you testified this morning?

Colonel CARRILLO. During recess?

Senator KEATING. Since we recessed this morning, yes. I don't want his answer to this. All I am asking for is, have you given this information to others yourself?

I don't want the information yet.

Colonel CARRILLO. I did not give the information. I solely discussed on the basis of the drawing where it appeared in the newspaper, the Diario de la Marina, information about directed missiles. Not in Cuba, but in the Caspian or in an ocean near that place.

Senator KEATING. Caribbean.

Colonel CARRILLO. Your Honor, will you permit me a declaration, a statement?

Senator KEATING. Yes.

Colonel CARRILLO. In relation to what we were talking before, I have been looking at the drawing which I drew myself and which was—which I hold in my hand here, and I wish to explain something which I did not quite explain before about concrete foundations which I talked about before.

Senator KEATING. Very well.

Colonel CARRILLO. There are two highways which go to the place of Cienega de Zapata. They first started to be constructed at the beginnings of 1959.

One starts at the capital of the province, runs southward toward Cienega de Zapata. One starts east of Cienega de Zapata at the city of Parada de Pasejero which runs east to west and which leads into Cienega da Zapata. During few stretches of this highway, they are about 4 to 6 meters wide. When they are about to reach the center of Cienega de Zapata, near the Laguna del Tesoro—the Laguna del Tesoro is within Cienego de Zapata—this highway widens. There is where it starts a type of landing, aircraft strip, aircraft landing strip, where also there are certain powerful concrete bases and where they have informed me that there are still in construction similar bases in that area and which causes me to send a message asking them to pay attention to the information appearing in the Diario de la Marina, to know what was there.

If those bases could be used for military armaments, like the directed missiles, or launching pads for missiles, et cetera, all that may be required for a heavy base, they informed me—they who have no mental technical capacity—they believe that something of that sort was happening there.

Now, it is my opinion in elaborating all the information brought to me that it can be used for directed missiles, for launching pads, for a type of use which is military and not agricultural, nor tourist as they are made to appear to be. Clearly I have not the means to take the pictures and be able to study this matter further.

What I have received, like the width of the highway, the depth of the concrete of the highway, the width of the bases, which fluctuate between 10 and 15 meters—

Mr. SOURWINE. You have not given us the depth of the concrete. What is that figure?

Colonel CARRILLO. The highway when it starts at the town, it is an ordinary highway when it goes in much firmer ground, but as it enters into the mountains—I meant as it enters the Cienega (not the Sierra) it is much heavier.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, this clears up, I think, the two points which were left hanging at the recess. I want to apprise the Chair that we have a request from Mr. Andres Jose Rivero-Aguero, who is here, intended to be a witness, to try to get his testimony today so he may return and keep a commitment.

If the Chair pleases, we might let the present witness stand down and call Señor Rivero-Aguero.

Senator KEATING. Will you tell the colonel he may step aside? We would like to call another witness. We would like to call him back later.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Rivero-Aguero.

Senator KEATING. Would you raise your right hand, Mr. Rivero-Aguero? Do you solemnly swear that the evidence which you give in this proceeding will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Do you speak English? Do you understand English?

**TESTIMONY OF ANDRES JOSE RIVERO-AGUERO  
(THROUGH INTERPRETER)**

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. No, sir, to both questions.

Senator KEATING (to the interpreter). Then I want you to repeat the oath to him in Spanish. I want him to know what he is swearing to.

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence which you give in this proceeding will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a native of Cuba?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Native.

Senator KEATING. I want to ask the witness, does it disturb the witness to have photographers taking his picture while he is speaking? If it does, we will have them take them now and then leave.

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. No; I am not bothered.

Senator KEATING. He has been in political life, so I guess he wouldn't.

All right, proceed, Counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a graduate of the University of Havana?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have been a lawyer and a professor of philosophy?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Doctor of Philosophy and Letters and of Law.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have been a professor?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Yes, sir; I have been also a professor.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were elected to the Cuban House of Representatives?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Yes, sir; I was a senator.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what year?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. From 1954 until 1958 I was elected senator in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you a former Minister of Agriculture of Cuba?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. In 1940.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you a former Minister to the President of Cuba?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Was I a Minister?

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever in the President's Cabinet, in the Cabinet of the President of Cuba?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. I was Minister of Agriculture and Prime Minister.

Mr. SOURWINE. Prime Minister. When was that?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. From 1957 until 1958.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was under Batista?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Yes, while Batista was President.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you run for the Presidency of Cuba?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. During the year of 1958 I was a candidate for the Presidency of Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a candidate of the Batista party?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. I was a candidate for the four parties of the government at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you supported by the Batista party?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you elected?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Yes. In the elections of November 3.

Mr. SOURWINE. What year?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. 1958.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever take office?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. In accordance with the constitution, I was supposed to take office on February 24, and the Government fell on January 1, the 1st of January of 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you still a supporter of Batista?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. I support him in what sense?

Senator KEATING. Would you like to see Batista returned to power in Cuba?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. I don't think that the history repeats itself. I think history will try to improve itself.

Senator KEATING. Well, that is a very well-worded answer but I am very interested to know whether you are in favor of the return of Batista to power in Cuba?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. What I am against is that Fidel Castro stay in power.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are against Castro but you are not against Batista. Is that a fair statement?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. My position is that I am militant or I militate in those parties which at that time supported Batista, and I still maintain that same ideology because I cannot support the ideology of Castro because at this time Castro is accusing the U.S. Government that they are calling to testify before this committee war criminals and not only do I not accept the qualification but to who I accuse to be a murderer is Castro and for he to explain to the Cuban people why he murders my brother, that he was but a mere laborer in a factory.

Senator KEATING. I can understand your concern over what has happened to your own family. These questions are put to you for the purpose of weighing your testimony.

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Is it in respect to the government of Castro?

Senator KEATING. I have no further questions at this point. I sought this information in order to know what weight should be given to the testimony of this witness.

The INTERPRETER. Should I translate that?

Senator KEATING. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the present President of Cuba, Dr. Dorticos?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Personally, no.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a public figure in 1948?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. They told me that he was a candidate for the Communist Party in 1948.

Mr. SOURWINE. Whom do you mean by "they"?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. That he was militant with the Communist Party?

Mr. SOURWINE. No. Who told you that Dorticos ran on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Nobody told me. It was a matter of public fact that he was militant with the Communist Party and ran for Presidency in 1948.

Senator KEATING. Then you know that. You were not told by someone else. You were told that to be a fact.

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. I have never formed part of an investigation unit, but it is common knowledge in Cuba that Dr. Dorticos was a militant within the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember testifying in executive session before this committee?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Yes, I remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell us that Fidel Castro had declared he would not hold elections in Cuba until all Cubans are literate?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Exactly; I do. If you permit me to go into more explanation, I will.

Senator KEATING. Proceed.

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. For me to evaluate this information, I simply take the speech of Fidel Castro of the 1st of May of this year in which he stated that the Cuban democracy, he say, direct democracy, which is exercised by laborers, farmers, and professionals, that it is the same system which exists in the Communist regimes. Besides, Castro alleged that a president—he didn't mention him but it was President Betancourt of Venezuela—that had referred recently to the democratic governments that have no other origin but to make them representative governments, and Castro answering to this pronunciation of Dr. Betancourt of Venezuela and the Congress that was celebrated in proper Venezuela in the sense of the free world, where it appeared ex-President Figueres, Governor Marin—Cuba was represented by Drs. Sanchez Arango and Antonio Barona, to find a democratic out to the Cuban problem.

Castro took advantage of the speech of May 1, the 1st of May, Labor's Day, to state that the democratic government is that which is exercised directly by the laborers and farmers without having to go to the elected government and then he states that the elections and the consequences of the elections and the representatives of the elections are not but mere maneuvers to make a fraud upon the people.

I would like to add something more.

Senator KEATING. Well, we have a lot of witnesses to call and we know that there are differences in ideology between this witness and Mr. Castro, but that is incidental in this proceeding. We are after some facts in this proceeding.

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. I would like to add something, or I would like you to ask me for facts.

Senator KEATING. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what proportion of the people of Cuba are literate today?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Literate?

Mr. SOURWINE. Literate. What proportion of the people of Cuba can read and write?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Cuba occupies the fifth place of the continental alphabetization. The first place is kept by the United States. Second is Uruguay. Third is Costa Rica. Fourth is Argentina. In figures they indicate 17 percent that do not write or read and 83 percent that can write and read.

Senator KEATING. Were those the figures that you gave in the executive session?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. No, no, because then I don't understand what is the exact question.

Senator KEATING. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. The record will speak on this.

Do you have knowledge respecting prominent persons in Cuba who are known to be Communists?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You named certain persons to the committee in executive session whom you said were militant Communists.

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell us that of your own knowledge or were you speaking of what you have here called general public knowledge?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. I just said it in the general sense because really I have no means of information myself. If they were to ask me for the card, Communist card, for the people governing now Cuba, I will have to say that they don't carry a card.

Senator KEATING. Proceed to something else.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. We will proceed to something else.

Do you have information respecting repression of the church in Cuba?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. Well, I know because some of the members of the Catholic Church are now here in the United States, but it is also a universal knowledge that Communists cannot exist or coexist with the Catholic Church.

Mr. SOURWINE. Specifically, have Catholic schools, or universities, been closed by order of the Government?

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. I have no such knowledge. I believe that the fathers who are here, they are better qualified to testify.

Mr. SOURWINE. If the witness disqualifies himself, I am not going to ask any more questions on that point.

I have no more questions.

Senator KEATING. The witness is excused.

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. I would like to say just a couple of words, if I may. Two words.

Senator KEATING. We want to have it if it is factual. We don't want any political speeches here because that is not the purpose of this committee.

Mr. RIVERO-AGUERO. No. I wish to state that I am now testifying before the U.S. Senate because I believe that there is a Communist government in my country. Otherwise I would not be here.

Senator KEATING. We appreciate that.

Thank you very much.

Colonel, will you resume the stand, please?

I remind the colonel that the oath which he previously took is still in full force and effect.

#### TESTIMONY OF COL. MANUEL ANTONIO UGALDE CARRILLO— Resumed

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have information respecting the shipment of Communist propaganda into Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. What year?

Mr. SOURWINE. I can't ask for the year because I am asking you if you have information.

Let me say this to you: If you have information about the shipment of Communist propaganda into Cuba at any time, we want you to tell us about it.

Colonel CARRILLO. Cuba has always been a center of distribution of Communist propaganda, international communism.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where does this propaganda originate?

Colonel CARRILLO. A lot of it was printed in Cuba secretly when it was persecuted by those governments which were not in accord with communism. Now it is published openly. During the previous governments, the publication, Hoy, was closed and the radio station, Mil Diez. Presently the Communist Party publishes the Hoy and the radio stations air, transmit the political speeches of the party, Socialist Popular.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, we are moving very slowly. Would it be satisfactory to the Chair if counsel puts the questions in summary of the testimony which has been given in executive session and asks the witness whether this is a correct summary of the testimony previously given? Or should we proceed with direct questions?

Senator KEATING. Let us try that course and see how we get along.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you testify in executive session that more than 12,000 manufacturing plants and bases have been nationalized by the Castro government?

Colonel CARRILLO. Plants or plantations?

Mr. SOURWINE. Plants or plantations? The question I asked was manufacturing plants and bases.

Colonel CARRILLO. By this time they should exceed 15,000. They are in the records of all the newspapers of Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you testify in executive session, and is it true, that the Communists have infiltrated the Catholic youth movement in Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you testify, and is it true, that Russian submarines had been seen in the Cienega de Zapata and in the Sierra Maestra also?

Colonel CARRILLO. Will you permit me, before I answer this question, to answer the previous one so that it would not be incomplete?

Senator KEATING. Yes.

Colonel CARRILLO. The information given to me about the Communist infiltration into the Catholic Action, Accion Catolica, in 1952 and 1953, is in the archives which they have not burned of the regency of the church in Havana, addressed to Cardinal Arteaga.

Now, I can continue with the second question.

Senator KEATING. Do you remember what the second question was?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

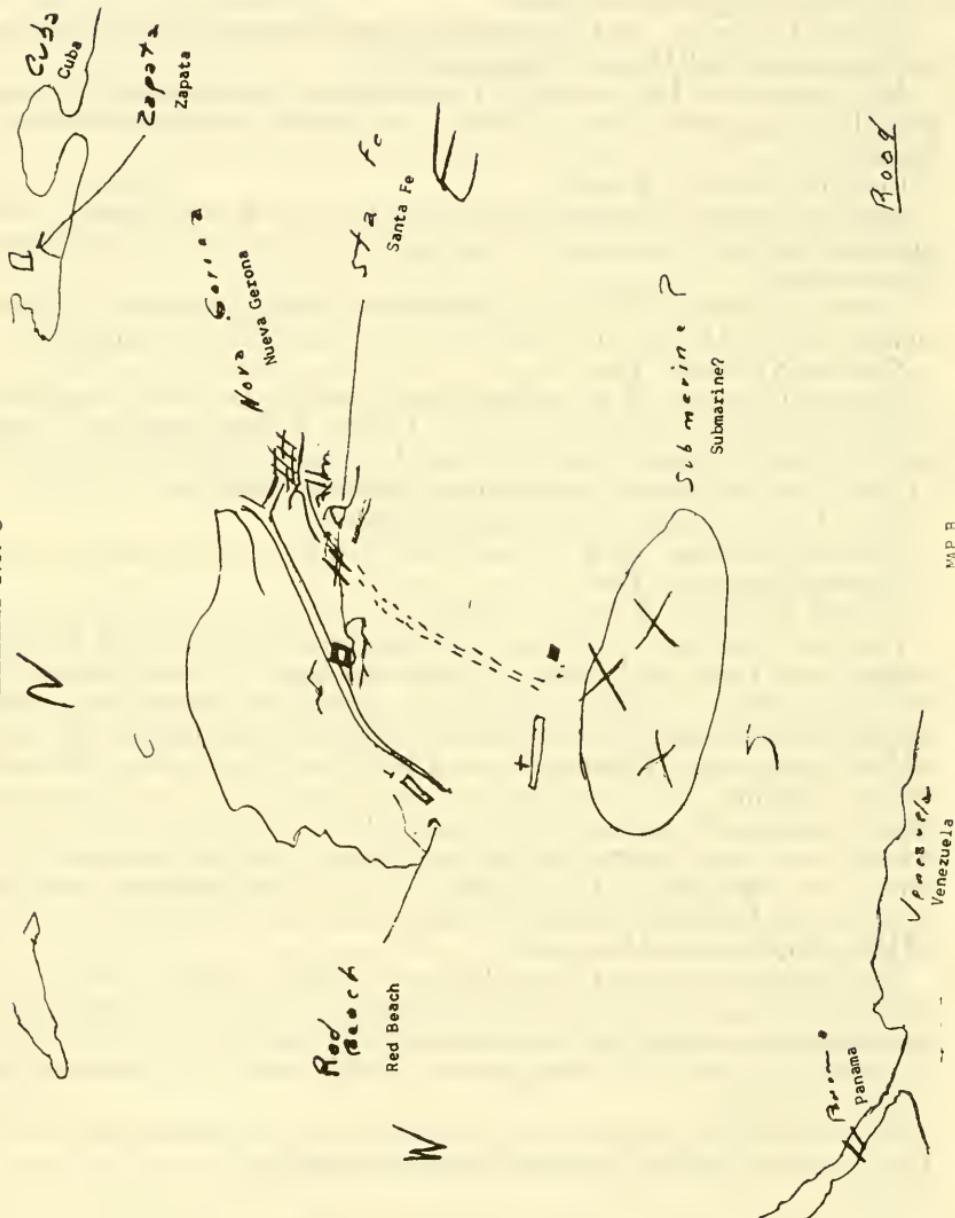
Senator KEATING. Please answer it.

Colonel CARRILLO. I have an information about the Sierra Maestra when I was Chief of Military Operations given by the Military Intelligence Service within the military operational zone that a submarine, without identifying it, had landed near the end of the river of La Plata, south of Sierra Maestra, and for Fidel Castro. We used rubber dinghies. It is a rubber conch shell used for two or three persons at sea, and in a battle which took place recently arms were used which were manufactured in Czechoslovakia. And all that proof was sent to the President of the Republic who told me that they would be investigated by the American military missions to identify the origin of that proof that had been sent.

The opinion recovered from that area which is supposed where the submarine was, is that it was a Russian submarine because the American submarines have identifications, and this one was all black without any marking, and only large powers could transit in the ocean this type of transport.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you a duplication of a sketch and ask if this is a sketch which you drew for the committee?

EXHIBIT NO. 8



Colonel CARRILLO. This is to the south of the island of Los Pinos, where there was a landing secretly in the same form, the same days, for it appeared in the world press that there was a mysterious submarine to the south of Argentine.

This submarine approached the southern coast of Isle de los Pinos, and my informer personally saw 14 trucks loaded with heavy equipment covered with tarpaulins of dark color, and when he approached these trucks as they neared the coast he noticed that there were no boats around. The trucks left at the beach. It seemed they had dragged heavy equipment on the sand, and he alleges, assures, that it was a submarine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell us in executive session that in your opinion Batista had no will to fight Castro and was more interested in money than in saving the Republic of Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. You still believe that to be true?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you testify, and is it true, that Batista had provided \$300 million for public works, but no money for military purposes, during the height of the insurrection?

Colonel CARRILLO. I think it is more than \$300 million that he dedicated for public works and very little for the military opposition to Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. There is another witness who needs to be heard briefly today.

We will ask you to step aside at this point.

We will hear you further at the next session of the committee.

I call Father O'Farril.

Senator KEATING. Father, do you speak and understand English?

Father O'FARRIL. I understand a little.

Senator KEATING. Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you give in this proceeding will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Father O'FARRIL (through interpreter). I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF REV. JUAN RAMON O'FARRIL (THROUGH INTERPRETER)

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your full name?

Father O'FARRIL. Juan Ramon O'Farril.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a Catholic priest?

Father O'FARRIL. I believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you a native of Cuba?

Father O'FARRIL. Yes, sir; I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were educated in France and in Havana?

Father O'FARRIL. Yes, sir; in Paris and in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. You attended the Seminary of San Carlos in Havana?

Father O'FARRIL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were ordained in 1945? In the year 1945?

Father O'FARRIL. No, sir. In the year of 1945.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what I thought I asked.

You were opposed to the Batista government?

Father O'FARRIL. Since 1933.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why?

Father O'FARRIL. The first traitorship of Batista when he was merely a sergeant, he displaced the career officers and the second treason was during 1952 when with a group of corrupted officers—

Colonel CARRILLO. Excuse me.

Senator KEATING. The meeting will suspend temporarily.

The INTERPRETER. His (Carrillo's) question is, Can I go out temporarily? Momentarily can I leave the committee room until the testimony is over?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Proceed, Father.

The INTERPRETER. The question was—

Mr. SOURWINE. I was asking you why you opposed the Batista government and you were telling us.

Father O'FARRIL. Because at that time we had a democracy. In March, democracy suffered a blow that kept us in a dictatorship for 7 years, one of the worst dictatorships suffered in America.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you yourself ever arrested by the national police under Batista?

Father O'FARRIL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were released because of the intervention of the Cardinal of Havana?

Father O'FARRIL. Yes, sir; due to the intervention of the church.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were beaten by agents of Batista?

Father O'FARRIL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were sent to Canada to recuperate from your injuries?

Father O'FARRIL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You joined the followers of Castro to assist those who had been persecuted and imprisoned by Batista?

Father O'FARRIL. No; I joined the group of Carlos Prio Socarras who was the constitutional President of Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever a follower of Castro?

Father O'FARRIL. I helped Castro's group.

Mr. SOURWINE. You helped the revolution against Batista?

Father O'FARRIL. Yes, sir; against Batista.

Mr. SOURWINE. You took part in the Caracas Pact, a revolutionary movement against Batista?

Father O'FARRIL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you break with the Castro movement?

Father O'FARRIL. As soon as I arrived at Cuba, the 6th of January.

Mr. SOURWINE. What year?

Father O'FARRIL. In 1959, when Batista's government fell.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did you break with Castro?

Father O'FARRIL. Because of the treason of Castro to our revolution.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by that?

Father O'FARRIL. In trying to force us into communism.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge respecting Communists in the Castro government?

Father O'FARRIL. Merely to observe the laws of the revolutionary government; the acts of the government and its legislation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you arrested or ordered arrested by the Castro government?

Father O'FARRIL. Yes; there was an order of arrest.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why?

Father O'FARRIL. Because I was in contact with elements who conspired against.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you escape arrest?

Father O'FARRIL. Because there was a counterorder on the part of Fidel that I should not be detained. Fidel stated on the radio that he did not want at this time problems with the church.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have stated to the committee, have you not, that the original Cuban revolution in 1958 was not a Communist revolution; is that correct?

Father O'FARRIL. Our revolution was not Communist. Only Fidel with a group of collaborators have treasoned the revolution.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you information with respect to the intentions of the Castro government as regards the United States?

Father O'FARRIL. It is not a secret that Castro is an element of trouble in America.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any specific information on this point?

Father O'FARRIL. No, sir; I have no specific information but it is clearly seen.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember telling the committee that you feared the return under the Castro regime of various persons who were in power under the Batista government?

Father O'FARRIL. No; I do not fear the return of Batista. What is damaging is the restoration of the regime of Batista again in Cuba, but I don't think that ever the past regime will come again to assert itself.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge respecting any persons who were officials under the Batista regime who are back in power under Castro?

Father O'FARRIL. No, sir; I have no knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KEATING. The subcommittee will take evidence in executive session tomorrow. This proceeding will be adjourned until 10:30 on Friday morning.

Father O'FARRIL. The witness states that he wishes to apologize for the incident caused at the beginning of his testimony.

Senator KEATING. This committee has become very accustomed to incidents. He need offer no apologies whatever, and he is excused.

The other witnesses are directed to return on Friday morning. The subcommittee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4:15 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene Friday, May 5, 1960, at 10:30 a.m.)



# COMMUNIST THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN

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FRIDAY, MAY 6, 1960

U.S. SENATE,

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,

*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:55 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, Senator Thomas J. Dodd presiding.

Present: Senators Dodd and Keating.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and Frank W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator Dodd. The committee will be in order.

We will resume our hearings, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Colonel Carrillo is on the stand.

Senator Dodd. Colonel, will you come forward?

You have already been sworn; take your place, please.

## TESTIMONY OF MANUEL ANTONIO UGALDE CARRILLO—Resumed

Mr. SOURWINE. Colonel, you remember telling us about Chilean and Communist Chinese pilots sent to Cuba as instructors?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us briefly what the facts were with regard to that?

Colonel CARRILLO. I had information directly from Cuba of persons within the air force, that men of Chinese nationality were arriving but with residence in Chile, with other technicians of nationality of Chile, to the air force of Fidel Castro at Havana, coming from Chile.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is all you know about this.

Colonel CARRILLO. That is all I can remember at this time.

Mr. SOURWINE. In executive session you told us about a connection between William Morgan, an American, and Guitierrez Menocal, an international Communist. Will you tell us what you know about this?

Colonel CARRILLO. The second name that you mentioned, if it is Guitierrez Menoyo.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is entirely possible that I have the name in error. I am asking for the testimony of the man who told us about it in executive session, and that is you, so you tell us what you know about the connection of William Morgan with an international Communist.

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly, we were talking about Guitierrez Menoyo, a Spanish Communist that fought in the Spanish War and that had been living in Cuba for quite a time, previous to Fidel Castro coming into power.

Guitierrez Menoyo distinguished himself in Cuba because of his Communist activities. For that reason the police services had him as a militant Communist. He associated himself with a recent conspiracy with William Morgan, commander of Fidel Castro's army, of American nationality, to try to work over an idea of a revolution against Fidel Castro, and thus discover those who were not in accord with Fidel Castro, but always obeying the orders of Fidel Castro. Once the conspiracy was discovered, there were some deaths and others are in jail. The press gave plenty of publicity to this fact.

Mr. SOURWINE. Colonel, do you know Gen. Alberto Bayo?

Colonel CARRILLO. Not in person, but his history I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have knowledge respecting General Bayo's activity in the teaching of guerrilla warfare in Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us.

Colonel CARRILLO. At this time he is instructor of the new forces, the militia forces which are being formed, and sometimes he gives military instruction at the Colombia, and on other occasions on the coast, on the beaches which are near Boca Chica, Tarara, where there is a provisional military camp to train men.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is General Bayo a Communist?

Colonel CARRILLO. Active, an active Communist, of Spanish nationality.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us for the record here what you have already told us in executive session about the conversion of portions of the Isle of Pines into a military and naval base?

Colonel CARRILLO. In reference to the activities of the Communists or of who?

Mr. SOURWINE. I will start again. Do you have information respecting the conversion of part of the Isle of Pines into a military and naval base?

Colonel CARRILLO. To convert it, to change it from one thing to another.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Colonel CARRILLO. The Isle of Pines has changed considerably since Castro came into power changing the highways into military—southward to the island, where it crosses some swamps, and that highway reappears again near the ocean, where I informed previously, that they had unloaded heavy equipment without knowing what the equipment was, but there were plenty of trucks.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you now given the committee on the public record all the information that you have about this?

Colonel CARRILLO. Are you talking about the Isle of Pines solely?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Colonel CARRILLO. I remember I have said something else about this Isle of Pines about an informer who was personally there in the island when there was a reunion in the house of the engineer who constructed the highway toward Baya Rojo in the island during the government of

Batista. In that house, there was a reunion of Fidel Castro, "Che" Guevara, and Mikoyan.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean Anastas Mikoyan, the Russian?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly, the Russian who was here and then he went to Cuba. I don't know his name. I don't remember how to write his name.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say Mikoyan and Castro had a meeting on the Isle of Pines in this house?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly. I want to understand that this is the same person that—the Russian leader, who was recently in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was on the occasion of this recent visit to Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, sir. The recent visit that was made to inaugurate, by that Russian.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who else was present, if you know?

Colonel CARRILLO. I am informed at that meeting, which was secret, there was no publicity made. However, the Cuban press made a detailed information of the visits to the various centers, of labor and cooperatives of Cuba, but of this visit to the Isle of Pines there was no publicity.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, who was present in the house when Castro and Mikoyan met?

Colonel CARRILLO. There were sometime, I had this information, but, Fidel Castro, Raul Castro, "Che" Guevara, there was one more person that I don't remember, just about four important persons.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you know about this meeting?

Colonel CARRILLO. From a person who had been in the island, by a person who was near the house talking to the persons that were in there, in the interior of the house. I cannot—I have to reserve the name of that person, informant—because he still remains in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, this is a little difficult to explain. We went over it in great detail in executive session. With the Chair's permission I should like to ask a leading question here which may help to clarify this situation.

Is this correct: You had an informant whom you trust as reliable, whose name you cannot give us because you have to protect him? This man was not himself present in the room where Castro and Mikoyan met?

Colonel CARRILLO. Not inside the room, no. He was not in, but outside in the area where the reunion took place.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was in another part of the house.

Colonel CARRILLO. Not in the room but within the house, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. Now, in order to keep their conversations secret from the people who were around them, you told us, Mikoyan and Castro spoke in English.

Colonel CARRILLO. The informer says that he heard the voice—not speaking in Spanish—of Fidel. He said "Let's talk in English." I don't think Fidel talks very good English but he can understand by talking slowly, because of his culture which he has, he has lived here in the United States.

But the important thing about this that there was an interpreter, that he is the official interpreter of Mikoyan, who talks Spanish and English, both.

And on some occasions they talked in Spanish and in English loud.

Mr. SOURWINE. You told us, did you not, that an aide in the kitchen, who was back and forth into the room where the meeting took place, understood English as well as Spanish and that he was reporting to the people in the kitchen what was going on in the room where Mikoyan and Castro were present?

Colonel CARRILLO. I wish to state that from this time on, I cannot, I should not wish this to be published because that is the means of identifying this person. He is going to be immediately identified in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Anything you say here, of course, is entirely public. If there is anything which you feel should not be made public, don't say it here.

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. What I am attempting to determine is whether the information about this conference between Castro and Mikoyan—

Senator DODD. I suggest you just ask him if he got information from a source that he considers to be extremely reliable, he can tell us "Yes" or "No" and what the information is. End it at that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Very good, sir.

Senator DODD. I don't think you ought to go into detail whether it was in the kitchen or parlor or anywhere else.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have information—

Colonel CARRILLO. I didn't understand the question you asked.

Senator DODD. There was not any question to you; I was talking to counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have information respecting this meeting of Castro and Mikoyan from a source which you consider to be highly reliable.

Colonel CARRILLO. All right.

Senator DODD. I think we have already on the record that he does so consider this person, and that this person has given him this information; I suggest you ask him what the information is and get that on the record.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the information that was given to you by this informant that you consider reliable?

Senator DODD. Isn't the statement itself on the record that the witness says if he discloses his name or identifies him it will put him in jeopardy? That is sufficient, I think, to warrant no further information.

Colonel CARRILLO. I consider the information of this person reliable because all the information we had up to this time from Cuba is from persons who risk their lives to give this information in order that it may be known abroad.

Senator DODD. We are satisfied about that. Let's get the information.

Colonel CARRILLO. I have no proof, I cannot present any proof, but, I vouch for the good faith of that person.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, what is the information?

Colonel CARRILLO. One of the matters which my informant thought was important was that Fidel was advised that he should not maintain a press attack constantly, systematically against the United States. That it should be made by chapters.

Mr. SOURWINE. By what?

Colonel CARRILLO. Chapters by episodes, serial. That on some occasions, I mean, that it should be calmed in order that the matters be estimated and when the diplomatic relations be then calmed they should again start another measure. We have already taken over the American properties in Cuba. The publicity about the American Embassy in Cuba, and we know about this publicity, information about culture, that we are accustomed to receive. I understand that they are trying to avoid that this publicity, like movies, pictures, pamphlets—

Senator DODD. Tell us just what Mikoyan told Castro and this will help us a great deal, what he is alleged to have told him. That is what we want to have on the record. It is of interest to us, just stick to that, tell us what was heard or what he allegedly overheard?

Colonel CARRILLO. The matters which I just mentioned, that the attack against the United States should not be kept on systematically. We know that it is known that that is systematic; that, mainly, daily it is increasing.

Senator DODD. We know that too. Tell us the conversation, who said it, is there anything else?

Colonel CARRILLO. This is conversation which is going on in a room where there are several persons, and the advice goes back and forth to Castro.

Senator DODD. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Proceed.

Colonel CARRILLO. They also talked about military matters, but this information reached me quite weakened. And they talked about the visit that he was going to make to Cienega de Zapata, the place where I testified previously where they were building highways which could be transformed or used for airstrip. He was there, too. The Cuban press published some photos of Mikoyan fishing in a small boat with Fidel Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. Before we get away from this conference you are telling us that this conference took place before Mikoyan went to Zapata? Is this correct?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly, he was there before, because—

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. You told us some of what was discussed. Through your informant do you know of anything else that was discussed by Mikoyan and Castro?

Colonel CARRILLO. I know that there is more about this conversation, a lot of it, much more conversation was made, but at this moment, I cannot just state it. In this drawing appears the house where the conference was held.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, that drawing is already in the record.

Do you have anywhere a record or memorandum of what was reported to you about this conversation?

Senator DODD. Anything that will help you refresh your memory.

Colonel CARRILLO. Are you making reference to the notes and memorandum that I wrote which I made available to you?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Colonel CARRILLO. I had all that memorandum for you, and when I gave it to you, I understand it was destroyed. All the information, all the notes I destroyed, but I can rewrite them again, what I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am trying to find out whether when you got from your informant the news of, about the conference between Mikoyan and Castro you wrote down any part of that news or any notes regarding it and kept what you had written down?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly. My informer came here. I wrote them here, not over there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you still have those notes?

Colonel CARRILLO. No, all those notes, once I gave them to you they were destroyed. There were too many notes and I didn't want to keep them around. It is not my mission now to keep archives, but the same persons, I can question them and they can inform me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that we pass this point and that consideration be given to getting committee approval to insert at this point an excerpt from the executive testimony which will cover the point fully as testified to with his notes at hand.

Senator DODD. That is all right. It will probably save time. It is the type of hearing where we cannot strictly follow rules of evidence without refreshing his memory. If he has given information, and does not now recall it, make the suggestion to him and see if he remembers it now. Or if you want to go by that and put in the executive session I think that is all right.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, Mr. Chairman.

(Following is the pertinent portion of Colonel Carrillo's testimony in executive session:)

Mr. SOURWINE. Now if you will go ahead in your own words and tell us what you want the committee to know.

Colonel CARRILLO. In the first place I want to talk about the security of the Americas, in connection with the brief information I already referred.

This is the Isle of Pines [pointing to map he has sketched]. We can say between Cuba and the Panama Canal. In the south of the island, between swamps, there is a highway being built—from the north to the south of the island. At the south coast at the end of the island there are great depths in the sea where the undercraft can very easily maneuver. It is almost below the Swamp of Zapata.

In the days when the great publicity was made about the submarines that were supposed to be in the Gulf of Nueva in Argentina—in those same days—about 10 or 15 big trucks of the army were moving in that new highway to the southern part of the Isle of Pines. They have built at the end of the island at the southern part an airfield. At night the trucks went empty and came back loaded and they were completely covered.

The person who saw that informed me that he does not know what they contained—what the cargo was. He tried to search and went near the seashore—he saw no ships, no aircraft.

At night the aircraft cannot land—no lights. He thinks that a submarine unloaded something that day. That's what he thinks.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us who the man was?

Colonel CARRILLO. I am sorry. I cannot mention his name because he will be in danger.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us something about him? Is he educated? Is he reliable?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes. He is an educated man. He is completely reliable.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does your informant know that the trucks were loaded at the beach?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What else do you have to tell us?

Colonel CARRILLO. The search of these two informants.

There are two things in my personal opinion that I want to point out to you. The first is—This was going to be an auxiliary base of Zapata; or this will be a base for an attack on a Central American country.

Mr. SOURWINE. Or both?

Colonel CARRILLO. Perhaps.

Mr. MANDEL. You are familiar with that base—the one you are talking about—through your own knowledge?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes. I have been there on many occasions—by air and many other ways—including, I built a hut there and installed microwave equipment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have other facts that you wanted to tell us about?

Colonel CARRILLO. This is the first part as far as security is concerned. Now the second part is the political part.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is a map which you drew?

Colonel CARRILLO. I just drew that from my own mind.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let's put that in the record at this time.

Mikoyan and Castro have the meeting there [pointing at map] in this house—

Mr. SOURWINE. The house marked with red?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was this meeting?

Colonel CARRILLO. The week that Mikoyan was in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. You learned this the same way you got the other information?

Colonel CARRILLO. No; it was from another source.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this other source reliable?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes; I was for a year Chief of Intelligence.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes; we know that.

Colonel CARRILLO. That is why I have reliable sources of information.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have reliable sources of information in various parts of Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. All parts.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know that Mikoyan visited the Isle of Pines while he was in Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. I did not have any information that he was there, but the person who saw him there told me he was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. We know this, but we did not know that he visited the Isle of Pines, and I want the record to be clear whether he visited the Isle of Pines and while there met Castro at this house.

Colonel CARRILLO. The meeting was secret. The people around there had rumors. The person who told me—he saw it.

Mr. SOURWINE. He saw Castro and Mikoyan?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes; he identified them—Mikoyan and Castro. There was a picture of them.

(The map is reproduced at p. 400.)

Colonel CARRILLO. It is by hand. It is not exact.

As far as the political question is concerned, in that meeting—the Isle of Pines—it was agreed, or it was discussed very much, about the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are talking about the meeting between Castro and Mikoyan.

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you base this on information received from an individual who was there?

(Discussion off the record.)

Colonel CARRILLO. The meeting took place in English. He [informant] could not understand English.

Mr. SOURWINE. Castro and Mikoyan spoke in English?

Colonel CARRILLO. Mikoyan had an interpreter. Castro made order to speak in English. The interpreter spoke to Mikoyan in Russian; to Castro in English.

Mr. SOURWINE. Castro speaks English?

Colonel CARRILLO. Broken but understandable.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then how do we know what they were talking about?

Colonel CARRILLO. Now that is the question.

The people who were there in the meeting place: there was one who was in the confidence of Castro. He was in charge of the kitchen, bringing vodka and coffee and everything. When he went to the kitchen he would tell what was discussed to the others—other aides of Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. Actually, what you are reporting is what one of Castro's officers told other Castro people in the kitchen?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes; he went back and forth from the kitchen.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did he tell them Castro was discussing?

Colonel CARRILLO. I am explaining so, so you will believe what I am explaining. That is what I am going to explain now.

This aide of Castro was indicating while the others were listening—"Now we are going to be strong. Now we will have all the help, all the military aid. We will have planes, tanks."

And they used very derogatory language against this country when they said they would have tanks and aircraft from the Soviet Union.

Another time, when he went where Castro and Mikoyan were meeting, he was telling the others that Mikoyan was advising Castro that he should not use systematic attacks against the United States, and I have been able to corroborate that because every day I listen to the radio stations from Cuba. Sometimes they use bitter attacks. Sometimes they are silent. In other words they do not use "propaganda." So they are using that tactic because now they want to get better relations so that they can prepare another attack some place else.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is what Castro said, or what Mikoyan said?

Colonel CARRILLO. This man who was coming back and forth from the kitchen. He was drinking and it was not preparation for keeping secrets.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, I want to go over this phrase by phrase.

It is my understanding that the man who came into the kitchen, came into the kitchen several times, and each time he said something else about what was going on.

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. On one occasion he said they are using bad language about the United States?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. On another occasion he told Castro that he was not supposed to attack the United States publicly.

Colonel CARRILLO. Systematically.

Mr. SOURWINE. What other occasions?

Coionel CARRILLO. In the meeting Mikoyan advised Castro that he should not attack the United States personally, but let his aides do so.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right; what else?

Colonel CARRILLO. This man that went back and forth—he came to the kitchen and said—"I have told many times to Castro he should let his assistants do that so he would not be on the spot. They can use radio, press, and so forth, that he controls."

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to determine if anything else was said by the man who came back to the kitchen.

Colonel CARRILLO. Now, sir, that is the conclusion—

Mr. SOURWINE. Never mind the conclusion. I want to know if you know anything else that was said at the meeting.

Colonel CARRILLO. As you know, sir, I have not all this on record, but I have it in my mind.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to be sure you have told us all that happened at the meeting so far as you know it.

Colonel CARRILLO. Now I am going to make a recollection in my mind to see if I have everything.

In this meeting, I think it seems to me that they only talk about the relation of Cuba with this country.

The men that were chosen after this meeting—the men that will be needed to come here to have a meeting for better relations—this is what this man told in the kitchen. This man was discussing in the kitchen the men who will be members of that commission.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was before anything was said to the United States about such a meeting?

Colonel CARRILLO. Oh, yes. When Mikoyan was in Cuba. That is why I have given so much importance to this meeting because I have seen that the evidence is coming to be true.

Raul Roa—foreign minister of Cuba—is the strong arm of the Communist Party in Cuba. Now this is about politics, about Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you through now telling us everything that took place at the meeting?

Colonel CARRILLO. I have already told you about that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Before you go to something else, Mr. Mandel wants to ask a question.

Mr. MANDEL. Is it important to know the names of any other important Cubans who were also present? Raul Castro, Che Guevara—

Colonel CARRILLO. He told me about the most important officials, and I ask him if Che Guevara was there or Raul.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say that Che Guevara was there? Was Raul there?

Colonel CARRILLO. By his features—he was able to tell from pictures in the press—Raul Roa was at the meeting.

Che Guevara was at the Zapata Swamp when Mikoyan was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the names of any other persons who were at the meeting?

Colonel CARRILLO. His recollection was that only three Cubans that he knew. The rest were foreigners. Of the important officials—three—the rest were foreigners. Fidel, Raul Roa, the third person he was not able to recognize. There are newcomers in the regime.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say he only knows the names of three, or that only three Cubans were there?

Colonel CARRILLO. In the place where they had the meeting—in that mansion—there were many persons. At the meeting seven—three Cubans, four foreigners. Fidel, Raul Roa only could he identify.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then there was (1) Fidel; (2) Raul Roa; (3) Mikoyan; (4) the interpreter; (5) another Cuban; and the other two were foreigners. Right?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was the man coming out for coffee?

Colonel CARRILLO. A trusted man of Castro's.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was in the meeting?

Colonel CARRILLO. No; he was coming back and forth.

Mr. SOURWINE. He said, if I understand, that the negotiators to come to the United States were to be chosen by those at the meeting, is that right?

Colonel CARRILLO. Of course my belief is that one of the members of the commission will be Raul Roa. But he might not—

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not tell us earlier that the man who came to the kitchen said it had been stated that the men who were to come to the United States were to be chosen by the men at the meeting?

Colonel CARRILLO. In the meeting they were talking about the ones that they would choose to be members of the commission. They were making a list. They were already planning for the commission. But he did not say that those members of the commission would be chosen by those at the meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question of who was to come to the United States was discussed at the meeting?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I just wanted to get that clear.

Now what else is there that you wanted to tell us, Colonel?

Colonel CARRILLO. Now we have already concluded with this part. The second part is in connection with politics.

They are doing a double play with Fidel. Even though they are the ones who are strong and have control they know that they cannot maintain that for too long in Cuba.

This branch is trying to attach the Communists to their side so the Communists who are today with Castro may be put out but this opposite branch will be with Castro.

Of course this will bring about some confusion about what we are talking about.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying that the Communists do not trust Castro?

Colonel CARRILLO. No. I am trying to say that the Communists are very smart. They know that the Cuban people do not like Communists and they do not want to go together with Castro. Well, the idea is that even if Castro falls they will continue as an organized Communist Party in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. What specifically are they doing to carry out this idea?

Colonel CARRILLO. They are having, you know, secret meetings—with the blessing of Dr. Barona and Prio, the former President of Cuba. The one that is taking care of the meetings is an old Communist. The man who is in charge of all these meetings is Aurelio Sanchez Arango. I discovered this even though I am in a passive investigation. Even though, I was surprised about the silence in regard to Sanchez Arango. That is why I started to dig and found that he is directing this meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you trying to tell us that the Communists are preparing a second echelon to take over if Castro goes out of power?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words, the Communists feel that if Castro goes out, Raul, Raul Roa, Che Guevara, etc., will go out.

Colonel CARRILLO. They will do this: Raul, Che, will stay; but they will purge Antonio Nunez Jimenez, and others, that are not reliable to international Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying they are planning on a people's government which is wholly Communist to replace the Castro regime?

Colonel CARRILLO. The people's republic is already organized.<sup>1</sup> The state has taken over all the property, all the land, all the industry. In the schools they are teaching all the Communist doctrines. They have organized militias.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is to head this regime which will succeed Castro?

Colonel CARRILLO. In my opinion, within this new group that is headed by Tony Barona and Sanchez Arango. They will have a

<sup>1</sup> Undersecretary of State Douglas Dillon commented as follows on the Cuban situation during a recent colloquy with Senator Keating on a television program:

"KEATING. Do you think that Cuba is becoming a Communist satellite on our doorstep here?"

"DILLON. Certainly it's true that the Cuban Government—and I differentiate between the Government and the people of Cuba—in the last year has become increasingly infiltrated by either Communists or close followers of the Communist Party line. And looking at it from the other side, Mr. Khrushchev has announced that the Cuban revolution is the kind of revolution that he likes and the Soviet Union likes and that they want to see used as a model all over the world—and not only in Latin America. They make no bones about saying that Cuba is an ideological satellite of the Soviet Union. It certainly is as far as the Government of Cuba and its leaders are concerned. Now all the same, this is happening. It is developing in the economic field. It's a most regrettable situation."

"KEATING. Is there anything that we can do to protect ourselves against this danger?"

"DILLON. Well, there are plenty of things that we can do. I would not like to talk about them in detail before we do them, but one thing that's happening is that there has been a great change in the past year in the attitude generally in the other Americas. They now understand much better than they did before the nature of Castro's government in Cuba."

"KEATING. Do you think that U.S. approval, or its attitude with regard to the overthrow of the Korean President, Mr. Rhee, had anything to do at all with events in Turkey and in Japan?"

"DILLON. No, I don't think they had any connection at all in Korea, although Korean people objected to the dictatorial way in which Rhee had run the country and so there's a new government. This new government is working very closely with us. You saw what happened in Turkey. The new Turkish Government has no problem of foreign policy or American relationship. It is a purely internal question. Now the Japanese thing was quite different. That was a Communist riot that was inspired."

smokescreen to cover before the eyes of this country. They will get rid of Communists so as to be able to propagandize that they will have democratic elections in Cuba. But it is only going to be a smokescreen.

I came to this conclusion because of the silence of Sanchez Arango when my reliable investigator told me there was something big about Sanchez Arango.

So this same week they have reported to me the movement and what Sanchez Arango is about to do. This includes secret meetings between Communists, Sanchez Arango, and Tony Barona in Miami Beach.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it your understanding that the Communists plan to displace Castro, or that they are getting ready for what they consider to be his inevitable fall?

Colonel CARRILLO. To me, this will be a Communist purge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who else will be purged? Do you know?

Colonel CARRILLO. Well, to this point I do not know too much more, but I am continuing to investigate. Last week came a delegate from Sanchez to establish contact for a meeting which will take place between Communists and a new pro-Communist group. It will take place in Miami. I think he left last Sunday or at the beginning of this week for Havana. I have no information yet whether the delegate who came here was successful in making arrangements for the meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you know when this meeting is to be held?

Colonel CARRILLO. I do not know exactly when that meeting will take place, but I am trying to find out.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where will the Communists who attend that meeting come from?

Colonel CARRILLO. One of the things I am trying to find out is if they are in this country or if they are coming from Cuba. But I believe that at this moment there is a very important man in Miami, because the delegate who came to Miami, he was able to talk to that man.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who this man is?

Colonel CARRILLO. Well, you see, it is hard to tell because I am trying to find out—it could be my neighbor.

Mr. SOURWINE. At this moment you don't know?

Colonel CARRILLO. The only information I have at the moment is that the delegate was able to talk to this other high person in Miami.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there any other subject you want to talk about?

Colonel CARRILLO. Well, you see, sir, the other one I would like to discuss—I was 14 months there fighting against the Communists in the mountains. That is why I know what is going on and what will happen before. Before Castro seized power from Batista documents fell into my hands that pointed out what they would do. One by one I have been able to prove that it is being the same way that they said. All the proof, I send it to the chief of the army in Havana. Everything that is now happening was planned in the program of Castro. The seizure of the land belonging to Americans and others; the relation to the church; the diplomatic relation with countries behind the Iron Curtain; dissolution of the army.

(End executive session insert.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall telling us in executive session that the Communists were doubledealing with Fidel Castro?

Colonel CARRILLO. You mean doubledealing; what do you mean?

Mr. SOURWINE. Doubledealing. It isn't what I mean; I am asking if you remember that you told us anything along that line in executive session?

Colonel CARRILLO. It means, I don't know, the phrase in Spanish, doubledealing; you mean purge?

Senator DODD. We have a language problem here all the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember telling us that the Communists were not wholeheartedly supporting Castro but were privately making plans for what they were going to do when the Castro government fell?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, now, will you tell us about that?

Colonel CARRILLO. The Communists are already prepared in case Castro fails, a second movement known as the purge; when a leader is burned in the public mind he disappears as a leader, and some other chief, leader, is put in his stead. That is exactly what I have information is occurring in Cuba. To avoid that, the Communist Party may be surprised in a collapse that it may suffer, the person of Fidel Castro, but he is not separated from this maneuver, nor Raul Castro, his brother, and "Che" Guevara, the second man in command, and Nunez Jimenez. But they are trying, these persons, that I have just mentioned, in combination with the Socialist Popular Party of Cuba, to find persons, political Cubans, that are not mixed in or members of the Socialist Party. So in case of a political collapse they can form a government which may not appear to be so much to the left but that serves their interest.

Senator DODD. We will have to recess, we have a rollcall. We will convene within 30 minutes.

(Brief recess.)

Senator DODD. The committee will resume its hearing.

Mr. SOURWINE. Colonel, do you have information respecting secret meetings of the Communist Party involving one Aureliano Sanchez Arango?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does he have to do with those meetings?

Colonel CARRILLO. I have from Havana that Aureliano Sanchez Arango, who was one of the founders of the Communist Party in Cuba, later infiltrated into the political party of the authentic revolutionary party of Cuba. He had a conversation with some members of the Socialist Popular Party Communists in which he referred to a future purge in the present Communist Cuban movement.

My informant believes in view of the data that they have, that what the Socialist Party is trying to do, is to put Aureliano Sanchez Arango, whom they swear is not a Communist, that he is authentic, that he is a democrat, in order that when the collapse happens on one of the persons, to substitute, to put the figure of Aureliano in power in Cuba. There is something more. My informant says, and that I could confirm with another report from this country, that Aureliano Sanchez sent a delegate to Miami to have a conference with important people, that were carrying out this purge.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was to have a meeting in Miami.

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. With whom, if you know?

Colonel CARRILLO. The delegate came to contact important people in Miami to hold this meeting—

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean important people, important Cubans or important Americans?

Colonel CARRILLO. The persons that worked together, my informant that worked together on this matter informed me that they were important Cuban people, and it seems that they have singled out a place outside of Miami for this purpose.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where this place is?

Colonel CARRILLO. No, I don't know it now.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether this meeting has been held or whether any such meeting has been held?

Colonel CARRILLO. I understand, I believe, upon the basis of the information that I have that this meeting has not yet taken place.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know when that is to take place?

Colonel CARRILLO. This conference was supposed to have taken place on the 1st of May but upon information received in the middle of last month I understand that it has been postponed, but they do have the will to take place.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you understand that what is contemplated here is a meeting between a leading Cuban Communist and American Communists? Or is this a meeting between a leading Cuban Communist and persons in America who are not Communists?

Colonel CARRILLO. My informers have declared, upon information which they have received from Cuba, which is true, they are men of the Communist Party of Cuba, and men of Fidel Castro which have infiltrated into places and into organizations, Cubans, like the Catholic Action, Lions, Rotarians, clubs which are in the public—

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean in this country?

Colonel CARRILLO. In Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. And they are coming to Miami for this meeting.

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly. But I want to point out that they are not known people that I could—that anybody could point them out. But they tell me that one of the most important and who was going to assist that meeting is probably Aureliano Sanchez. He has entered many times surreptitiously into the United States when he was making a revolution against Batista, because personally, I made a report of an entry that he made through New Orleans, with the name of false passports, on one day he was arrested there by the name of Jose Sanchez of nationality which I don't remember at this time, whether it was Mexican or Guatemalan.

Mr. SOURWINE. We are considerably afield from where we started with this question.

You have identified the nature at least of the Cubans who expect to come to Miami for this meeting. What can you tell us about the people now in the United States who will attend this meeting? Are they Communists or non-Communists, are they Castro people, what are they?

Colonel CARRILLO. My informant says that he personally spoke to the delegate sent by Aureliano Sanchez Arango to Miami and he tells

me that that conference is completely controlled by the Communists. And the concept of the people who talked there in Miami are Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is then a meeting to be attended by Cuban Communists and American Communists?

Colonel CARRILLO. No, he understands that they are going to be strictly Cuban Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. Cuban Communists from Cuba and Cuban Communists from this country?

Colonel CARRILLO. Cuban Communists which reside in Cuba, and Cuban Communists which reside in this country.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Now, you have told us at some length about a concrete construction. Do you have information about a similar construction in the mountains of Grande Piedra in Santiago de Cuba?

Colonel CARRILLO. Yes, that is what it is.

In this place of Grande Piedra in Santiago de Cuba they are constructing a tourist zone. You understand all these movements they are doing are camouflaged as for tourists or for agricultural activities, but they are also constructing, in this Grande Piedra, houses for tourists and a highway and bases, concrete bases where telescopes will be placed to observe the mountains around and its valleys, but that it attracts very much the attention of my informers [who think] that a mere wooden platform would be sufficient for that, and they are making solid bases and deep, that they are covered by picturesque houses; that through the windows they show telescopes to see the scenery around. That is all the information I have about that place now.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Do you know whether Camilo Cienfuegos is dead?

Colonel CARRILLO. That is very difficult to assure in Cuba, if he is dead or alive. But the majority of the people in Cuba, whether they are pro-Castro or against Castro, they publicly discuss that he was killed before he boarded the airplane where he had the accident. And the fact of the suicide.

An employee of the control tower of Camaguey, because he knew here something about this, in the same manner, his assistant died, Commandante Naranjo, that he dies in the confusion when they asked him about his card to enter into the military camp in that the gate guards opened fire and killed him.

And men that supposedly were to go with him in the mountains, and they knew each other, Naranjo was killed by an officer of their army that answers to the name of Beaton.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this the same Beaton who is supposed to be leading a guerrilla force against Castro in Sierra?

Colonel CARRILLO. Exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DODD. I think this would be a good point at which to recess.

We will recess until 2:15.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the hearing was recessed until 2:15 p.m. of the same day.)

## AFTERNOON SESSION

(Hearing resumed at 2:25 p.m. pursuant to adjournment.)

Senator KEATING. Will you call the first witness?

Mr. SOURWINE. Gen. Francisco J. Tabernilla.

Senator KEATING. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you will give in this proceeding will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

General TABERNILLA. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF GEN. FRANCISCO J. TABERNILLA  
(THROUGH AN INTERPRETER)**

Mr. SOURWINE. Your full name, sir.

General TABERNILLA. Francisco Tabernilla.

Mr. SOURWINE: You are a former Chief of Staff of the Cuban Army?

General TABERNILLA. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you speak English, General?

General TABERNILLA. Well, I speak some English.

Mr. SOURWINE. We can conduct this in English if the Chair pleases and use the interpreter if his services seem to be needed.

General TABERNILLA. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you sit there, Mr. Interpreter?

If the general feels the need of having a question interpreted, he can indicate and you can interpret it.

General, you are a graduate of the Cuban Military Academy?

General TABERNILLA. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what year?

General TABERNILLA. 1917.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are then a career soldier?

General TABERNILLA. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have spent your life in the army of Cuba?

General TABERNILLA. More than 40 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many governments of Cuba did you serve under, General?

General TABERNILLA. About five.

Mr. SOURWINE. Five. You were Chief of Staff of the Cuban Army at the time the Batista government was overthrown?

General TABERNILLA. I was Joint Chief of the General Staff.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember telling us in executive session about what you referred to as Batista's betrayal of the Cuban people?

General TABERNILLA. I explained about the way he left Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us about that now, please?

General TABERNILLA. Yes.

On the 31st of December 1958, I was at home, and one of his aides called by telephone to my house inviting me to be at General Batista's house in Camp Columbia at half past 11 with my wife to have coffee for the New Year.

So I went there at half past 11. He got in about 10 minutes to 12. And after 1 o'clock, 10 minutes past 1, I think, he called us into his office down there, and he read a paper, and he was resigning as President of the Republic on account of he didn't want any more bloodshed among the Cuban people. And he asked us to resign also our posts.

Mr. SOURWINE. He asked you to resign?

General TABERNILLA. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is, you, his officers?

General TABERNILLA. Myself and all the generals, too, that were present at that meeting at his office. And he told us that we had to take a plane, I think it was around 3 in the morning. And he had previously given the name to his aide what plane I should take with my family, and all the generals, too.

We came here to the United States, we arrived at Jacksonville the 1st day of January. And he went to Santo Domingo, the Dominican Republic.

Mr. SOURWINE. Could the Cuban Army have resisted successfully the march on Havana if it had been ordered to do so?

Could Castro's march on Havana have been successfully resisted if the army had been ordered to resist it?

General TABERNILLA. You mean the 1st day of January?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

General TABERNILLA. No; General Cantillo—General Batista named General Cantillo in charge of the Government. He said a junta—a junta is three or four—and he named Cantillo.

Senator KEATING. You had better use the interpreter. I don't think he understands the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Interpret my question, please. The question is, General, could the march on Havana have been successfully resisted if the army had been ordered to resist it?

General TABERNILLA. It could, but not for a long time, because by that time the people of Cuba were already against the regime of Batista, and there is no army, once the people get up in arms, that can suppress it.

Mr. SOURWINE. The people themselves supported this revolution, did they not?

General TABERNILLA. Completely.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that is why the revolution succeeded?

General TABERNILLA. Exactly.

Senator KEATING. Could the Castro forces, the so-called rebels, have been eliminated if the order had been given earlier to wipe them out?

General TABERNILLA. Yes, certainly, it could have been done if, at the time Castro landed, the proper orders were given to suppress him; there is no doubt that it could have been done.

Mr. SOURWINE. General, are you acquainted with the present chief police of Havana?

General TABERNILLA. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who he is?

General TABERNILLA. No, sir.

I know by the papers, his name is Almejeiras, but I don't know him personally and never heard of him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was your brother Minister to Colombia during the Bogotá riots?

General TABERNILLA. Yes, sir; he was Minister of the Legation in Cuba; he was Minister there in the Legation in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the Colombian Legation?

General TABERNILLA. No, the Cuban Legation in Colombia.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he was in Bogotá?

General TABERNILLA. Bogotá, the capital; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Raul Castro there?

General TABERNILLA. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Fidel Castro?

General TABERNILLA. Fidel was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you know about that?

General TABERNILLA. The only thing I know is that he took part in the big riot they had there, and he bragged of killing himself several persons.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have this from your brother?

General TABERNILLA. I got that from my brother, and he is dead.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you tell us, General, about the indoctrination of the Cuban Army with Communist propaganda?

General TABERNILLA. Now you mean, the indoctrination now?

Mr. SOURWINE. No; what do you know about indoctrination of the army with communism at any time?

General TABERNILLA. Not during the time of the regime of General Batista, not then. There is now. But I don't know about it other than what I read in the papers.

Senator KEATING. There was no Communist infiltration in the army during the regime of Batista?

General TABERNILLA. None.

Mr. SOURWINE. What effect, if any, did Communist propaganda have on the army under Batista and before Castro took over?

General TABERNILLA. The Communist propaganda was sent by Fidel Castro himself to the chiefs of the armed services to the line troops, the fighting troops that were in the field. He would write them in their own handwriting making propositions that the war was not against the army but it was against the Batista regime, that we were all but brothers.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this propaganda successful in causing defections of Batista officers and troops?

General TABERNILLA. There were two cases.

Mr. SOURWINE. Only two?

General TABERNILLA. Two, sir, that went over to the enemy, and a battalion that fought for 11 days and then surrendered.

Mr. SOURWINE. During the fighting against the Castro forces, were there requests by field commanders to General Batista for more troops and supplies?

General TABERNILLA. Yes, sir. There were requests for personnel and munitions.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were these requests granted?

General TABERNILLA. Some of them, the majority were not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the failure to grant these requests have anything to do with the success of the Castro forces?

General TABERNILLA. One of the reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge, General, respecting the intentions of Fidel Castro as regards the United States?

Senator KEATING. Wait a minute.

I would like to ask a question before that question is answered.

Do you favor the return of Batista in power to Cuba?

General TABERNILLA. I don't think he has any chance at all.

Senator KEATING. Do you personally favor it?

General TABERNILLA. No. He was my friend and commander until the 31st of December 1958. Since, no more; I have nothing to do with General Batista.

Senator KEATING. Do you think it would be a mistake for him to return to Cuba?

General TABERNILLA. Why, sure.

Senator KEATING. You think that his return to Cuba would not be in the interest of the Cuban people?

General TABERNILLA. The Cuban people would not take Batista any more; I am sure of that.

Senator KEATING. I am quite sure of that, too, but my question is, Do you think his return would be in the interest of the Cuban people?

General TABERNILLA. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge respecting the intentions of Fidel Castro as regards the United States?

General TABERNILLA. I know nothing personally about him other than what I read in the newspapers. From what I read that is happening, it is clear that he is an enemy of the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KEATING. No further questions.

Mr. SOURWINE. Salvador Diaz-Verson y Rodriguez.

Senator DODD (now presiding). Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. I understand.

#### TESTIMONY OF SALVADOR DIAZ-VERSON Y RODRIGUEZ (THROUGH AN INTERPRETER)

Senator DODD. Will you take the chair and give your name and address?

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your full name?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Salvador Diaz-Verson y Rodriguez.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your business or profession?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Newspaperman and writer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever in the army?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. I was Chief of Military Intelligence from the year of 1948 until March 10, 1952.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever Chief of Criminal Investigations and the investigation of communism in Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; in the year of 1933 for the first time, and in 1948 until 1952 in an official capacity, although since the year of 1928 I have dedicated myself to study to investigate Communist activities in America.

Senator KEATING. Since what year?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. 1928 on.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a supporter of Batista?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Since the 10th of March of 1952 when Batista had the coup d'etat, I lived for 2 years in Miami as an exile.

Mr. SOURWINE. During Batista's regime?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever a supporter of the Castro movement, the 26th of July movement?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Never. I was a member of the Carlos Prio movement, and I also refused to participate in any meeting with Fidel Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it true that the Castro regime destroyed files on Cuban Communists?

Senator KEATING. Just one minute before you answer that.

You have never been at any time a supporter of Batista, is that correct?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir.

In 1933, when Batista took the power, a group of revolutionaries that had joined, we joined the 4th of September movement, of which movement Batista himself was a member. But that reunion did not last but 5 months and 22 days. We immediately opposed him.

Senator KEATING. And that was in what year?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. 1934.

Senator KEATING. And you have ever since 1934 opposed Batista; is that correct?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. When Batista first established his first connection with the Communists in 1934, I opposed him.

Senator KEATING. Have you always since that time opposed him?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir, affirmatively.

Senator KEATING. And you think that any efforts of his to return to Cuba would not be in the interest of the Cuban people; is that correct?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. You make reference to the present time?

Senator KEATING. Yes.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Negatively. The Cuban people would never support the Batista regime again.

Senator KEATING. And you personally would never support it again?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. No, sir.

Senator KEATING. I want to make a comment.

I think that we should make it very clear at the outset of testimony that we do not want to call any witness who is a supporter of Batista or who feels that his return to Cuba would be of interest to the Cuban people.

One or two of the other witnesses have been rather equivocal in that matter. I think we should avoid calling witnesses in this proceeding that are not ready to testify under oath unequivocally that they are opposed to the Batista regime.

We have plenty of evidence, I believe, without calling such witnesses—I do not think that they add anything to the proceedings, because they could well be shown to have a bias. And I think the testimony of this witness has been made considerably more weighty by his unequivocal testimony that he is opposed to the return of Batista in any shape or form.

Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it true that the Castro forces destroyed files on Cuban Communists?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many such files?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. I had privately an archive which comprised 250,000 cards of Latin American Communists and 943 personal records. This was the result of my trips all over Latin America visiting country by country, what were the conditions of communism, and what numbers of Communists there were in each place. That archive was stolen and destroyed by the Communists on January 26, 1959.

Senator KEATING. When you say stolen and destroyed by the Communists, can you be more specific?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Do you want the name of the persons that went there, the ones that did it?

Senator KEATING. Were you there at the time?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. No; I was not present at that moment. I had an employee who took care of the archives. A group of four men armed with machineguns arrived.

Senator KEATING. When was this?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. January 26, 1959. They gagged the employee, they destroyed the furniture, and they took what was inside the metal files. The neighbors, because it was an apartment house, saw from the balconies that it was a truck of the 7th military regiment. They testified, and it was published in the newspapers of January 27 of 1959 in Havana.

Senator KEATING. Where were you then?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. I was working at that time in the newspaper Excelsior, where I was in charge of redaction, of writing.

Senator KEATING. When did you come to this country?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. The 19th of March of 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you a list of names which you gave the committee, and I ask if you can, of your own knowledge, state that each of the individuals here listed has been indicated in the official files as Communists?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; all of these names represent persons well known by me to be Communists with a long history, but I wish to request permission of the Senators to state that from this date that I gave his report to the present time, the situation in Cuba has changed extraordinarily, and new situations have been created.

If you will permit me briefly, I will make an explanation.

We, the investigators of social problems of the Communists, have already established that Cuba is now a socialistic Soviet republic. And we haven't established this capriciously, but because the Communists have a bible, which is a book entitled "Leninismo," written by Stalin, which is a consulting book to all the Communists in the world to establish socialist regimes. It appears here that there are two types of revolutions, a bourgeois revolution and a socialist revolution, and Stalin stated perfectly which was one type and which is the other type.

In accordance with those studies, through investigations which are not mistaken, because they are laboratory studies, a professional group, as specialists in this study of communism, we have arrived at the total conclusion that in Cuba there now exists a regime socialist Soviet. And I have written, compiled a booklet of sociology that I am mailing to all the universities in Latin America where, after I have explained the technical studies of the Communists, I explain

in sketches how the Soviet regime operates now in Cuba. I can leave the Senators a copy. It is written in Spanish.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this be received, subject to the ruling that its printing be withheld subject to the committee's determination.

Senator DODD. Yes.

(Booklet referred to was placed in the subcommittee files for reference.)

Mr. SOURWINE. In regard to this list, at the time you gave it to the committee, it was secret and we accepted it with that classification.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. I can repeat it publicly—I can repeat them now if you so desire, Senators.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't think it is necessary for the witness to repeat them. I just want to know if the witness has any reason why the list should not be printed in the public press?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. I have not. I will be satisfied if it is published.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that this list go in the record, then.

Senator DODD. It may go in.

(The list referred to with the explanation made by the witness at the time, is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 8

PRESENT IMAGE OF THE OFFICIAL LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN CUBA

The Communists have everywhere two images of leadership: One that they show to the public, and the other that acts underground [or—"one visible; the other invisible"].

The "underground" is the one that operates at La Cabaña [prison], with Ché Guevara, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, Raúl Castro, and others. The public and official one is the following:

Juan Marinello	Vicente Valdés
Blás Roca Calderio	Edith García Buchaca
Aníbal Escalante Dellunde	Leonides Calderio
Manuel Luzardo	César Escalante Dellunde
Joaquín Ordoqui	Flavio Bravo
Lázaro Peña	Osvaldo Sánchez
Carlos Rafael Rodríguez	María Núñez
Ladislao González Carvajal	Clementina Serra
Ursinio Rojas	Jacinto Torres
Salvador García Agüero	Mirta Aguirre
Nicolás Guillén	Ramón Nicolau
Arnaldo Milián	Felipe Carneado
Felipe Torres	Oscar Ortiz
Ramón Calcine	Honorio Núñez
Silvio Quintana	Leonel Soto
Rómérico Cordero	Joel Domenech
José Luis González	Virgilio Zaldívar

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. If you will please permit me, I am about to finish.

Twenty-four hours ago there was constituted in Havana the First International Communist Anti-American, the official newspaper for the Communist Party. It says:

The Cuban revolution starts a new era with the liberation of the people of America.

The names appear of the delegates of all the Latin American countries that attended that meeting, and the text of the call which is being made to all the people of America to destroy the democracies of America.

I can also deliver to the Senators this copy, which is a copy of an official newspaper of the Government of Cuba dated yesterday. This new International has as its objective to have all the people of America be against America. At this time in Havana is operated an office to which I made reference in the executive session, where there were delegates of all the Latin American countries and some of Europe and Asia. Now that organization turns out to be an international entity to organize the student body, laborers, intellectuals, farmers, and politicians against North America.

The basic objective of this movement and the strategic object of the revolution in Cuba is to call up the people of America, and I can guarantee, Senators, that on my last trip through Latin America I found a lot of propaganda and agitation against the United States.

The Soviet Union is fundamentally preoccupied with the propaganda because it is the first weapon at the present time. The television and radio have wrought a psychological revolution to our countries, and the Soviet Union is taking good advantage to set the people of Latin America against North America.

Within the United States, in each capital, in each city, there is a movement under the name of "26th of July," by agents of the Communists, and enemies of the United States.

In Miami money is collected to buy weapons for Castro, stating that it is to attack the United States.

At a baseball game where I was two Sundays ago, they discussed the members of the "26th of July" publicly.

Senator KEATING. Who discussed it and where was the baseball game?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Orange Bowl, Miami, in the bleachers.

Senator KEATING. Was it where Havana was playing in the International League?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. No; they are not official baseball games, amateur games. A group of members of the "26th of July" discussed that in case of war between Russia and the United States, they would be with Russia.

Senator KEATING. Were they U.S. citizens or Cuban citizens?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Cubans, residents in the United States.

In this same newspaper—

Senator KEATING. Are they in this country for permanent residence?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Many of them, a great majority of them.

Senator KEATING. Were you present at that time?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; I heard it.

Senator KEATING. State their names.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. I do not know them personally. I went to the game because of my brother-in-law, Manuel Perez, that plays as a catcher, and he discussed with the group of the "26th of July." I heard the loudness in their voices and so I approached them.

Senator KEATING. When was this, 2 weeks ago?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; 2 weeks ago.

Then I reported this to the Federal Bureau in Miami.

Senator KEATING. I did not hear the answer.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. And I reported this to the Federal Bureau in Miami, and I reported to Immigration that there was a great group

of Cubans that were going to parade on the 1st of May in Havana in a demonstration against the United States. In this paper there is a photograph of Miami, of the club "26th of July" collecting money for weapons for Fidel. And that is being done in many cities in the United States.

Senator KEATING. Do you know how these people got here?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Many of those persons are Cuban immigrants that came many years ago or some years ago that left because of the political problems in Cuba. But when Fidel came to the United States, copying what was done by Marti, he went to look at the immigrant groups. He organized them in clubs. He sent them pamphlets, books, and other propaganda. He hypnotized them, suggested to them in the same manner that the Senators may recall Hitler used in the last war to push the movement of propaganda, that they were against the United States.

In the newspaper Hoy, official organ of the Communist Party in Cuba, a communication dated in Miami, signed by Alberto Lopez y Lopez, under the name of a maritime federation, Latin America, where he ratifies to the Confederation of Laborers of Cuba his membership in the union to them.

This is proof of how, within the United States, there are groups working in favor of the Communists and against the United States.

This is briefly what I wanted to say. If the Senators wish to question me—

Mr. SOURWINE. What is this newspaper that you showed us first?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Revolucion.

Mr. SOURWINE. I do not want to offer the newspapers for the record, but I think they should be left with the committee and the committee can decide later.

Senator DODD. Very well.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Can I ask permission in relation to this newspaper to say 2 days ago there was here a Communist photographer who sent information injurious to the Senators. For instance, it says Senator Eastland said that he would give \$35 to each of us, and he called us a word "Esbirro" which in Cubia is an offensive word, and he prepared false combinations of photography—

Mr. SOURWINE. Wait a minute.

Who is "he," who prepared anything false?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. The photographer that was here working for days.

Senator DODD. Is he here at the hearings?

Mr. SOURWINE. The headline says "Criminals in the United States."

Senator KEATING. Which one does he refer to there?

Mr. SOURWINE. The headline says "Criminals in the United States," does it not?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yankees. The photography showed persons who have appeared before this committee to testify.

Senator KEATING. Does he call Senator Eastland a Yankee in there?

Is that the word you meant, the dirty word?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Composite photography shows Cubans have testified who belong to the Batista regime, and persons who are against Batista. They put them together in a composite picture to make it appear that they were all in accord.

The newspaper pictures speak for themselves. I can leave them here.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you would, leave the papers with the committee.

Senator KEATING. And we want to warn these photographers that we don't want any more of these composite pictures.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. The newspaper Hoy announces the expropriation of land of Americans in Cuba. When this news was published—when this information was published, the United Fruit did not know then that they had taken their lands away, and Dr. Galdos Marino, who is the intellectual director of the expropriation of American property in Cuba, is now in Washington, D.C., in a conference of agricultural reform, and several known Communists in Cuba have recently obtained permission to come to or to live in the United States.

In the days of Galdos Marino—he is one of the Cuban Communists, well-known in his fight against America. He publishes articles mostly every day against the United States. However, he obtained a visa, and he is in Washington now.

Senator KEATING. Is he here in an official capacity?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Possibly; yes.

Senator KEATING. Representing the Government of Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Undoubtedly he is.

Senator KEATING. Is he one of the delegates who is attending a conference here?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator KEATING. He is representing the Government of Cuba and is a known Communist in Cuba; is that right?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; affirmatively.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you going to let us have that newspaper, Hoy?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes.

One of the matters which I wish to just mention briefly is Prensa Latina, which has been spoken about here.

I am president of the Inter-American Organization of Newspapermen Against Anti-Communism, which has its headquarters in Lima, Peru, and has a membership of 826.

Mr. SOURWINE. You translated that as "Newspapermen Against Anti-Communism." Perhaps he meant newspapermen against communism?

It seems from the witness' testimony so far that he would hardly be a member of a group of newspapermen against anticomunism.

The INTERPRETER. I am requesting the witness to write the name of the organization.

He wrote "Inter-American Organization of Anti-Communist Newspapermen."

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. It has a membership of 826 members in Latin America. And it was established when we knew that in Havana they were going to establish Prensa Latina in the month of June of 1959.

We investigated who were going to be the correspondents in all the countries of America, and we found that there were Communists in 72 percent of their number.

Later the agency Prensa Latina has followed totally the newspaper code written by Tass. That says no information can be made without any political objective and that propaganda should be directed always toward an objective.

Prensa Latina organized in March of 1960 a congress of Soviet newspapermen in Havana which was participated in by delegates of all the news agencies from behind the Iron Curtain, including China.

While this congress was taking place, they inaugurated a 4-hour daily program of radio in Spanish toward Latin America. And now there are 14 shortwave stations transmitting from between noon to 2 a.m. from Havana propaganda in favor of the Communists and against North America. And you can hear it in an extraordinary way, because the Communists give it to clubs and reunion groups; they put it on the radio, and thus they make certain that the other non-Communists must hear the program, too, and the propaganda.

In the propaganda the Communists have advanced much more than the United States. And with this I am extraordinarily preoccupied.

Senator KEATING. Preoccupied means worried, does it not?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. I am worried, because during the 32 years I have studied Communists I have been able to confirm how communism advances while our countries do not wake up.

Within 48 hours from next Sunday there are going to be elections in Panama. And it is quite sure that the Communist Party in Panama will win the elections. And there is panic now in Panama between the persons who are non-Communists, thinking that on Sunday, when the success of the Communist Party in Panama may be known, that there may be grave disorders.

And that is a worry, too, of the people of Guatemala.

And that is the worry of Honduras, where the active members got together, and they asked the President, Dr. Ramon Villeda Morales, for arms to defend themselves against Communists, because the propaganda of the Communists is covering all over Latin America.

Mr. SOURWINE. It should also be emphatically the worry of the United States?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. We, the democrats of America, we see the United States as the leader of the democracies in the Western Hemisphere. And when we see that here within the country the Communists increase, and letters are published like the one yesterday which was published by the Washington Post from an alleged Communist, that says that in the United States there are lynchings, liberty is restricted, and talks in favor of Castro, creating confusion, I see that there is an underground movement working all over this country, while we, the democrats and the anti-Communists, we are inferior.

Senator KEATING. Inferior?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator KEATING. What do you mean by "inferior"?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. There is no organization in the United States nor in Latin America which is dedicated to the defense of the democratic regime, to educate the child in school that he is living in liberty, and that the capitalist regime is the only economic system that already has its own revolution, like the system of corporations. There is no feudal capitalism now. However, there are newspapers, books, television, conferences at universities against the democracy, against the capitalist system, against the liberty which the Western Hemisphere is enjoying, while in Cuba the propaganda is controlled by the Government, and it is brainwashing the brains of the Cubans. And the

Cuban, when he doesn't hear things about Cuba, can hear foreign matters, communism, because the radio channels of 16, 19, 25, and 31 meters are covered by Communist programs.

We, the democrats, we have no means to counteract this campaign and take the poison which is being put into the Cuban brain. That is why I said that we are inferior.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Carlos Rafael Rodriguez?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez was the brains behind the Communist Party, and at the present time he is professor of the University in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he connected with the 26th of July movement?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Two months after Castro was in the Sierra Maestra—he went to the Sierra Maestra, and he was the one that made the first agrarian reform that was dictated by Fidel Castro while at Sierra Maestra. And he is one of the most influential personalities presently in the Soviet Republic of Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about American Communists visiting Cuba since Castro took over?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. There is a great interchange of North American Communists visiting Havana. In that newspaper that I gave you there is a delegation of North Americans participating in that which I have called the first American Internationale.

Senator KEATING. They are listed in this newspaper, the Americans that were attending this?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; affirmatively.

Senator KEATING. Is this a Communist meeting?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir, a Communist, to such an extent that the great majority of the delegates at the time of being identified—it says president, secretary of such a country.

Senator KEATING. Should we not have their names in the record?

Senator DODD. Which paper do you refer to?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. I am making reference to the newspaper Revolution. I will mark them myself.

Senator DODD. Very good.

Mr. SOURWINE. Read the names.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Here it says Waldo Frank. This is the only name that appears in this.

Senator DODD. Did you say Waldo Frank?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator KEATING. Is he the one who wrote the article?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Waldo Frank was delegated for the United States to this Communist meeting.

Senator DODD. When was this meeting?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. On the 4th of May, 2 days ago. There participated all the important Communist figures in America.

Senator DODD. Does it appear there that he is chairman of the committee known as "Fair Play for Cuba in the United States"?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. No, sir; it doesn't appear like that.

Senator DODD. I think it ought to appear in the record that they recently had a one-page advertisement in the New York Times, and among many other names was the name of Waldo Frank as chairman of a Committee for a Fair Deal in Cuba.

Senator KEATING. If it is the same Waldo Frank, which I assume.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Before this congress, there were formed in all the Latin American countries, including the United States, a Committee of Friends of the Cuban Revolution, which were the advance committees of this congress, which took place 48 hours ago. Waldo Frank represented in New York the organization Friends of the Cuban Revolution.

Senator KEATING. Is Waldo Frank the only representative of the United States at this conference?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. In this organization, yes. But I can assure you, Senators, that when I reach Miami, I will send you the complete report of my records of the North Americans which are in connection with and working with Fidel Castro, the names that I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think the committee would like to have that.

Senator DODD. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And we should have that in the record if it can be supplied.

Senator DODD. By all means.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. I solemnly promise to send it to you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know about visits to Cuba, since Castro took over, by open leaders of the Communist Party in the United States, such as William Foster?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; I know. But I would not risk at this time giving you the names without having in mind the history.

I know, for instance, the movement which is taking place now in Cuba among the American Negroes, and I am compiling the data of the invitations that Castro is making to the American groups in the United States to go to Cuba with their expenses paid. And I have the names of several known American Communists that have gone to Cuba, but I don't have them with me and I don't want to rely merely on my memory.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you furnish those names to the committee?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; I promise to send them to you as soon as I reach Miami.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have information about Soviet propaganda published in New York and shipped to Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about the shipment of propaganda?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. I have no knowledge of propaganda, I don't remember of propaganda from New York to Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about Soviet propaganda coming into Cuba from anywhere?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Havana is invaded by Communist propaganda. It comes from Mexico. It comes from Mexico and it comes from Moscow, in proper Spanish, and books like this one from a common library. It costs \$5, but they sell it for 50 cents, because the idea is that a lot of people can buy it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is Lazaro Pena Gonzales?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Lazaro Pena Gonzales was a long-time member of the Communist Party. He was secretary of the Federation of Laborers of Cuba, and is presently vice president of the World Syndical Union (World Federation of Trade Unions).

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he make a recent trip to Russia?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. He has traveled in recent years frequently to Russia.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the connection with the Castro government?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Publicly, none. Castro's new Communist system in Cuba has eliminated from the first plane many of those old-time figures of communism, substituting for them persons who are not so worn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is David Salvadore?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. David Salvadore is a member of the Communist Party. He participated within the Communist Party, and he was supported by the Communist Party to own the Federation of Cuban Labor. But presently he has a crisis.

Mr. SOURWINE. I did not get the last word, presently what?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, he has a crisis. He has lost much of the faith that the Communist Party had in him, and he has been discarded.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is Antonio Nunez Jimenez?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. He is one of the five supreme Soviets in Cuba. He is the director of the agrarian reform, in Communist talk, the supreme Soviet of the central government.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about an organization known as the American-Caribbean Junta?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. The Soviet Union created in 1946 at the end of the last war, an organization which was named "Junta of Latin America Liberation," which had its headquarters in Prague, and which had a delegate from each of the Latin American countries. Later it was divided. There was created a junta or council of the Central American and the Caribbean with headquarters in Mexico, and presently it now functions in Havana. At the same time they created a Council of Liberation of South America, which was divided into the Pacific zone and the Atlantic zone. That Council of Liberation of Central America and the Caribbean is what took the place of the old Secretariat of the Caribbean which was owned by the Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you say that this Junta of Liberation, which was formed and controlled by Moscow, was responsible for placing "Che" Guevara next to Castro?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. "Che" Guevara was put in by the junta, and the importance of "Che" Guevara in the Castro government reveals that it has a great protection from outside.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of any connection that "Che" Guevara had with a radio station under the name of "Red Star"?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. The Red Star had a very brief life. It came into life in Santa Clara, Cuba, on the 26th of December of 1958, and it closed the 2d of January of 1959. Through the station "Che" Guevara spoke from Santa Clara on a 20 meter frequency and, at Havana, Carlos Franovi, who is now the director of the Revolucion newspaper.

Mr. SOURWINE. Carlos Franovi also spoke?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. He was the person responsible for the Red Star in Havana. I have the tape, I can give you the tape now of his broadcasting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have information respecting a file on Raul Castro which was in the records of the Cuban Intelligence Service?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Of Raul Castro, no, sir. I remember from all the investigation that he was a Communist agent.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember telling us in executive session about the three steps toward communism in Latin America?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir. That is why, when I first started to speak, I explained that that step had already been advanced.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, in executive session you told us about Communist control in the armed forces of Cuba.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. The armed forces of Cuba are not Cuban, they are Communist.

Cuba has no army now, and it has to be outside of the mutual defense pact, because the armed man will answer to communism and not to the Cuban security.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying there are no non-Communists in the Cuban armed forces today?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Everything is Communist in Cuba. The army receives indoctrination, films, Communist films, Communist books, professors of Marxism, so that that army is completely Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about Communist control in the civil government of Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. The Government, what is known as the Government in all democratic ways, the President and the Council of Ministers, Secretaries, are dependent on the supreme Soviet. They change a president, they remove a minister, they remove the whole government, because of the orders of the supreme Soviet. It is a government by front, where there is no legislative power, nor executive power, it has not sufficient power, and the judicial power has been annulled by the courts of the revolution.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you going so far as to say that there are no persons in official positions in the civil government of Cuba except Communists?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. There are none. The last one that was there was the minister of credit, and a month ago he was thrown out of power.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there Communist control of labor in Cuba today?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Completely.

Mr. SOURWINE. How strong is Communist influence among the campesinos, the farmers?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. It was very strong, because the Communists expected [promised] that they were going to receive the land. But as the months went by there has been disappointment among certain sections of the farmers. Now there is in Cuba—the laborers, intellectuals, farmers, all of them are apparently satisfied with Castro, because he who is not is accused of being counterevolutionary, and they will take his property away, and jail him.

In my case I was against Batista, and I am well-known in Cuba as a person who was against Batista. The mere fact of protesting the Communist presence provoked them to take all my property away. They took my home. They took my passport. And I have been a man without a country, because they accused me of being antirevolutionary, because I attacked communism.

So then there is terror in all the social planes of Cuba. Yesterday they called me by telephone from Miami to inform me that the family of my wife that resided in Havana were jailed in vengeance because I had come to testify before the U.S. Senate. And at this time I don't know what has happened to them.

Senator DODD. Who did you say this was, your wife's family?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Brothers and uncles of my wife, that had nothing to do with me.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say they live in Havana?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; they do.

Mr. SOURWINE. And they have been arrested and put in jail since you came to testify before this committee?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; as soon as my name appeared in the newspaper Revolucion that I was here.

Senator DODD. I suppose that the intention was to get you not to testify any further, and I think you should be commended for going ahead with your testimony. And I know I speak for all the members of the subcommittee when I say we are grateful to you for continuing and appearing here today.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about Communist control over student groups in Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Some years back the Communists changed the tactic of having the laborers as an advance, and now they use the students. At the University of Havana they have an executive power, because the federation which controls the students is in the hands of the Communists to such an extreme that courts have been created locally within the university to judge and purge the students that may act anti-Communist. They accuse them of being antirevolutionaries, and then expel them from the university, and then they are delivered to the outside courts to be tried.

This is not a mere supposition, this is now. There have been judged and expelled seven students, and they are now in jail in military forts in Havana.

They celebrated during the month of February this year an international congress of Cuban youth in Havana, and on the 19th of June of this year they have earmarked another big congress where there will participate youth from Asia and from Africa. The youth is the advance of the Communists now into all Latin America.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do I understand correctly that you stated that seven students were thrown out of the University of Havana and put in jail for no other offense than being anti-Communists?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember referring to what you called the armed Communist brigade?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir. But after that the militia men surged forward, and they are all over the country now.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about Communist control of the press in Cuba?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. That is one of the matters of most interest in the history of Cuba.

In Cuba now there is only one newspaper that defends the democratic system, which is the *Diario de la Marina*. There are two newspapers which are not yet government owned but which have been cowed greatly, which are *Prensa Libre* and *Crisol*. The rest of the newspapers are under the power of the Government. And in Cuba everything which is done by newspapermen is propaganda, it is not information. There is no information as to what is going on; there is propaganda of what the Government wants.

The same thing happens with the television, and the same happens with the radio.

The *Diario de la Marina*, when it publishes an editorial giving its opinion, if the opinion is not in favor of Castro, they place below a marginal note where they say, "What appears written above is not the truth."

When President Eisenhower had a news conference with reference to Cuba just a few weeks ago, the AP cable had 3 inches, and the marginal note against the cable was 14 inches. There are articles against the cables and the opinion in favor of democracy. Besides, there is a law which punishes by 1 to 10 years the newspaper which says anything against the revolution.

And there is another law that specifies that all who have been convicted of antirevolutionary activities will lose all their property, including their wearing apparel. There are very few newspapermen who are brave enough to say anything.

In Miami there are 82 newspapermen and in New York there must be 6 or 8.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean Cuban newspapermen?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Yes, sir; Cuban newspapermen.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about Ernesto de la Fe?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Ernesto de la Fe is in jail, the big subject of torture. Ultimately we knew that he had been wounded on the head, and his family has not been able to see him since November of 1959. There is a great hate against Ernesto, like the one that existed against Lieutenant Castana who was shot, and against me, who was able to escape with life.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there anything that you feel would be of interest to the committee that you want to tell us before you go?

I want to explain that the committee's interest is in what this means to the United States, what does this situation portend for our own country?

Is there anything else that you want to tell us that we have not asked you about?

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Well, I believe that the United States, its people and its Government, have not yet comprehended that we are at war now, where the propaganda has made Russia advance, and we have lost democratic force. And the only hope of the Latin American countries is the activity of the United States of America, because the problem of Cuba is not now a local problem of a people, it is a continental problem, I would say world problem. And the same thing that is affecting Cubans now, the empire of the Communists in Cuba, should affect the people of North America within a very few years, if measures are not taken in due time. That is my belief and the product of my last 32 years of study of the Communists in America.

Senator Dodd. Mr. Diaz-Verson, I want to say to you that the committee is grateful to you for appearing here. We understand that it is not easy for one who has friends and relatives in Cuba, and undoubtedly some retaliation will be visited on them. You have already told us the news that members of your wife's family have received retaliatory treatment. And so we appreciate the fact that you have come here and given us the benefit of your knowledge about present conditions in Cuba.

I might say for the record that the purpose of these hearings, which we have explained, and I think it might be well to explain again, is to make a public record of the information that has come to the attention of the subcommittee.

We want to get it on the public record so that it will help the Congress from a legislative standpoint, and that is the purpose of holding these hearings.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. I feel very proud to be able to participate in the investigation and the record to be used for legislative purposes.

Senator Dodd. Thank you.

You may be excused.

Mr. DIAZ-VERSON. Thank you.

(The following communication from Mr. Diaz-Verson was later received by the subcommittee and ordered translated from the Spanish and printed in the record :)

[Translation by the Library of Congress]

[Undated]

*To the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate of the United States of America, Washington, D.C.:*

SIRS: In accordance with the promise given to your subcommittee to appear before it to testify in public hearing on the 6th of this month of May, and under the oath rendered by me, I am hereby complementing the data which I could not supply during my testimony because they were not at that time properly fixed in my recollection.

Following an inflexible law of Leninism, when the proletarian régime of Cuba was established, measures were taken so as not to confine that social, political, and economic movement to a single country, but to extend it to the other countries of the Western Hemisphere. And this is how we saw Havana become transformed into a city of international agitation, while committees, groups, and representatives of all Communist Parties of the world were being installed there.

As early of February 10, 1959, Eugene Dennis and Robert Thompson dispatched to the Communist régime of Fidél Castro a message from the Communist Party of the United States of North America, notifying it of its endorsement and solidarity, which was published by the Red press throughout America [the American Continent]. Later, on the 26th of that same month of February, Jack Williams wrote, on behalf of the Communist Youth of the United States, to the Cuban Communists, notifying them of his [their] identification and union; and on June 16, in joint meeting, the Committees of the Communist Party of the United States again confirmed, in writing, to Fidél Castro their endorsement and solidarity, which [agreement] was published by the Red press of the American Continent.

And so, during all of 1959, the visits of Communist delegates of the United States and the communications and relations between the two homogenous groups were repeated [continued].

On April 2, 1960, a meeting took place at the Cuban Consulate in New York of 75 North American Communists, according to the *Prensa Latina*, to sign a pact of unity between North American and Cuban Communists.

Prior thereto, in December 1959, the Communist régime of Fidél Castro appointed as Director General of Tourism the Cuban Communist leader Baudilio Castellanos, who initiated contacts with Negro groups of the United States

asking them to come to Cuba as tourists and commissioning the former boxing champion of the world, Joe Louis, and William Rowen, former Assistant Police Commissioner of New York, to agitate among the Negroes of the United States and to invite them to go to Cuba. The press throughout the world published on January 4, 1960, AP cables, with a Havana dateline, reporting this action taken by the Castro régime designed to promote Negro tourism [tourist travel] to Havana in order to indoctrinate these people in revolutionary activities against the government of this nation.

The unification between the Cuban and North American Communists is not a secret, since it has been published throughout the Communist press of the American Continent and the Socialist countries.

Recently, on April 6, the Communist Youth of North America [USA] met in Philadelphia and appointed a committee to go to Cuba and to deliver to their Cuban comrades a song recorded in the English language and 100 medical books, according to Havana's Red newspaper, Hoy, of April 8, p. 4, col. 8.

But the same thing has been happening all over America. Communists of the entire Western Hemisphere are living in Havana, together with Communists from Asia, Africa, and Europe; and all activities of these delegates, and of their agents in their respective countries, were concentrated, as a firm and unified scheme, attacking and discrediting the United States of North America.

The treacherous joint work of International Communism against the United States has already produced a strong loss of face and a broad wave of disrespect for the country of Washington.

During the past 30 years, while traveling and studying all over Latin America, I felt certain that the United States was being feared and respected in every country.

"The United States cannot permit a Communist régime in America," millions of people were crying out. "The United States cannot permit anybody to harass it." "The United States will crush anyone daring to oppose it"—was what the people of South, North, and Central America were repeating over and over again.

But all this has been wiped out. Those words are no longer being repeated, because respect for North America has been lost due to the constant and never-ending work of the Communists, because they see how the Colossus of the North is being insulted in Cuba, without anything being done; because they see how a North American Ambassador (Mr. Bonsal) is being harassed and mistreated, without anything being done; because they see how our good friends can be attacked without receiving the punishment which they deserve.

And that which has up to now been provoking the loss of respect for the United States, will also provoke, within a short time, the loss of all land, business, and money invested by the North Americans in Latin America.

As the Soviet Union knows that its only great opponent in the struggle for world domination is North America alone, it has mobilized all its resources for the purpose of weakening its moral and ethical [sic] forces, discrediting it in Latin America; but, bearing in mind that there is a Mutual Military Aid pact, the Soviet Union has proceeded to the destruction of the professional armies of the entire Continent. Thus it has managed to destroy the armies of Bolivia and Cuba, and is now acting to destroy the armies of Venezuela and of the remaining countries of America. In Brazil, Argentina, and other countries, large Communist cells have been discovered in the ranks of the military.

From the Russian base of the Caribbean—that is what the Island of Cuba now is—only 90 miles from the coasts of North America, slogans [or, badges,] arms, and money are being shipped to the rest of the Continent for the purpose of promoting agitation against the United States, while, under the pretext of commercial [exploitation], work is already being done in the field of nuclear [energy].

Inside the United States, 500,000 Latin Americans, their majority being Cubans, are making up the Fifth Column, which attacks the United States, aids in discrediting it, and collaborates with the enemies of Democracy, and this is being done in full view of everybody, without any attempt to hide, because they speak Spanish which the majority of the North Americans do not understand.

And while this is going on, bellicose preparations are made to promote in Havana, among other things, an anti-U.S. revolution in Puerto Rico by making use of the Puerto Rican Communist leaders Enamorado Cuesta, Ramón Mirabal, and Carmen Rivera.

Hundreds of Communists coming from Cuba visit universities, labor centers, farm groups, and professional and intellectual organizations all over America, inviting them to unite with Cuba against North America.

But the fight is going even beyond that. In 1942, the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., upon orders of the Supreme Soviet, designated Professors Kotovski, Miroshovski, and Rubzov to manufacture a new History of the Colonial and Dependent Countries of Latin America; it was printed in the Spanish language and is being used as textbook in many of our countries.

In Cuba, the Communists Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, Sergio Aguirre, and Jorge Castellanos wrote a new "History of Cuba," which is now also being used as textbook in that country.

At the University of Quito [Ecuador] courses in Marxism are given based on the text of Manuel Augustín Aguirre, professor of economics, and in all our universities, including those of North America, classes are being given in Socialism and Marxism, without balancing them with [classes in] democratic objectives.

In fact, we are already in World War III; but neither the United States nor the democracies of America have as yet comprehended that this is a conflict that is different from the previous ones, and that, rather than the atomic bomb and guided missiles, it is propaganda which is going to conquer and dominate the human beings of the free countries.

Formerly there was neither radio nor television, and the armed forces had to resort to violence in order to impose their objectives by force. Now, under the leadership of experts and intellectuals, invisible armies are going to intrude into the homes, speaking to the human beings and conquering them without firing bullets or resorting to appreciable acts of violence. And man is going to cease being free, to be transformed into a slave through a complicated psychological machinery, the product of propaganda.

But while every night all of Latin America is listening on the 16, 19, 25, 31, 42, 46, and 60 meter bands [channels] to Spanish-language broadcasts from Peking, Radio Poland, Radio Moscow, Radio Prague, and other stations from behind the Iron Curtain, and sees on its television screens local programs imbued with Communist ideologies, and hears local radio programs with "Red" Hours, it has not at any time an opportunity to hear radio broadcasts or view television programs designed to wipe out the effects of Communism and to reestablish the truth about democracy, freedom, and our social and economic system.

[Soviet] Russia gives to its agents powerful assistance. It gives them passports when theirs are seized. It gives them money when they need it. It gives them arms when they require them. They are being defended and aided in all their activities that follow strictly the ironclad Communist line [of policy]. However, we Democrats, we true anti-Communists, we get no protection from any power or from any group; and take my own case, for instance, in which the Red dictatorship of Cuba seized my passport and turned me into a man without a country and deprived me of the ability to travel and to attend anti-Communist congresses—I get no assistance whatever, and under the laws of the United States, which is the only free and democratic country and the hope of the Free World, my deportation has been ordered because I have no passport, and, meanwhile, in Mexico City, Lima, Buenos Aires, and other capitals of the American continent, groups of anti-Communist newspapermen, intellectuals, and professional men are becoming desperate because they see how Communism is making progress and they are unable to detain it, as nobody helps or protects us, while Communism is gaining strength day by day.

The language difference, and the ignorance on the part of North American officials of our people's psychology, have aided [Soviet] Russia's progress in America; and today the situation is grave, difficult, and complex. That is why it is necessary to act with speed, without losing time, in order to prevent our children, yours and ours, from becoming slaves of Soviet Russia's imperialism.

If your committee should desire further information on any of the points which I have made here, I am ready to supply it and to collaborate in whatever may be useful in serving the cause of freedom and democracy of America.

Respectfully,

SALVADOR DÍAZ-VERSÓN.

Mr. SOURWINE. There has come to the committee a statement issued by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on May 4 on the subject of Cuba. And it is suggested that it might be offered for the record if the Chair pleases.

Senator Dodd. Yes, I have read it. I think it should be in the record, and it is so ordered and will be made a part of the record.

(The statement of AFL-CIO Executive Council was marked "Exhibit No. 10" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT NO. 10

STATEMENT ON CUBA BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, MAY 4, 1960,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Since the fall of the Batista dictatorship in Cuba, the AFL-CIO has expressed in several occasions its complete support of the Cuban people's efforts to rebuild the political and economic structure of their country on the basis of social justice, freedom, civic morality, and human rights. We have also offered our cooperation to the Cuban labor movement in whatever action might be required to maintain it truly independent and democratic, free of Communist influence, and solely responsible to the will of its members.

In the early months of the Fidel Castro regime, we shared with other true friends of Cuban democracy the misgivings caused by the initial excesses of the revolution; but we also shared the hope that democratic processes would soon be restored, so that the many, long-overdue economic reforms would get underway. The Cuban people could then utilize the resources of their country for improving their social and economic conditions and strengthening their democratic institutions.

Events in Cuba have taken, however, quite a different turn. The latest manifestations of the Castro regime have revealed unmistakable signs of a definite trend toward a totalitarian state. This is based upon the technique of regimentation and militarization of the masses to a degree comparable to the practices prevailing under Fascist or Communist regimes.

The Cuban Confederation of Labor has become a mere appendage of the Government under complete control of pro-Communist elements imposed from above without consideration of the will of the rank and file.

Loyalty to democratic principles and opposition to communism has been branded by the Castro government as synonymous with counterrevolutionary activity, punishable with discharge from the job, immediate arrest, and loss of property.

The right of collective bargaining has been abolished. As in countries behind the Iron Curtain, Cuban workers are no longer free to change jobs without Government approval. Hiring and firing have become the prerogative of the Government. The quest for economic improvement, a legitimate trade-union activity, has been banned.

Cuban Government spokesmen have asserted that the people will not be given, in the foreseeable future, the right to choose their leaders through the process of democratic elections. The courts have been submitted to the arbitrary will of the executive. The right of habeas corpus has been indefinitely suspended.

The Communist party is the only political party which is free to operate today in Cuba. Opposition newspapers have been forced to close. Democratic journalists, who distinguished themselves in opposition to the Batista regime, have been forced into exile for insisting upon their right to criticize the pro-Communist policy of the present Government.

These actions on the part of the Castro regime in Cuba have shocked the democratic public opinion of the Western Hemisphere, particularly those sectors which rejoiced over the victory of the revolutionary forces in January 1959, and have consistently supported the economic reforms and other social objectives once proclaimed by the revolution.

The Cubans, our traditional friends, are being subjected to an intensive violent campaign of hatred and scorn against the United States. This propaganda of hate, organized with the official sanction of the Castro government, has been extended to other countries of Latin America with the obvious purpose of causing suspicion and enmity toward the United States. This has been aggravated by the repudiation, on the part of the Castro regime, of the treaties which are the foundation of our inter-American system. These treaties bind the countries of the Western Hemisphere to respect each other's sovereignty and pledge them to unite against external aggression and internal Communist subversion.

The disruptive activities of the Cuban Government can no longer be lightly dismissed as outbursts of inexperienced, youthful leaders swept by the upsurge of economic nationalism. They have all the earmarks of a well-planned strategy designed to make Cuba an advanced outpost of the Soviet Union's drive to infiltrate the New World.

The AFL-CIO has consistently advocated that dictatorships have no place in the world and particularly in our inter-American system. We have consequently urged, time and time again, the Organization of American States (OAS) to isolate the dictatorship of the Dominican Republic and similar regimes which do not emanate from the freely expressed will of the people. We have also urged the OAS to take firm steps to prevent these dictatorships from endangering the peace of the Americas with their constant subversive plots against neighboring democratic regimes.

We now believe that with its repudiation of the existing inter-American treaties and its purposeful, violent, and slanderous anti-U.S. campaign, tailored on the Communist pattern, the Castro government is endangering the peace of the Western Hemisphere.

We call upon the American family of nations, through the instrumentality of the OAS, to be alert to the danger that the Castro regime and other dictatorships represent to democratic stability and the peace and progress of the Americas. The OAS has in its charter sufficient provisions to enable it to take collective measures to protect the peaceful democracies from the aggressive designs of the dictators and from the subversive actions of international communism.

The AFL-CIO sends the Cuban people renewed expressions of support for their aspirations of economic reforms capable of bringing higher standards of living, social justice, national economic independence, and democratic freedoms.

We also send fraternal assurance of solidarity to the free trade unionists of Cuba, now fighting to rescue their labor movement from the presently imposed, pro-Communist, totalitarian control. We are with them with the same spirit and determination that has inspired the AFL-CIO to oppose dictatorship and totalitarian rule of every color and kind, in every part of the world.

Senator DODD. The witnesses that have not been heard will come back Monday at 10:30 a.m.

(Whereupon, at 4:35 p.m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at 10:30 a.m., Monday, May 9, 1960.)



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